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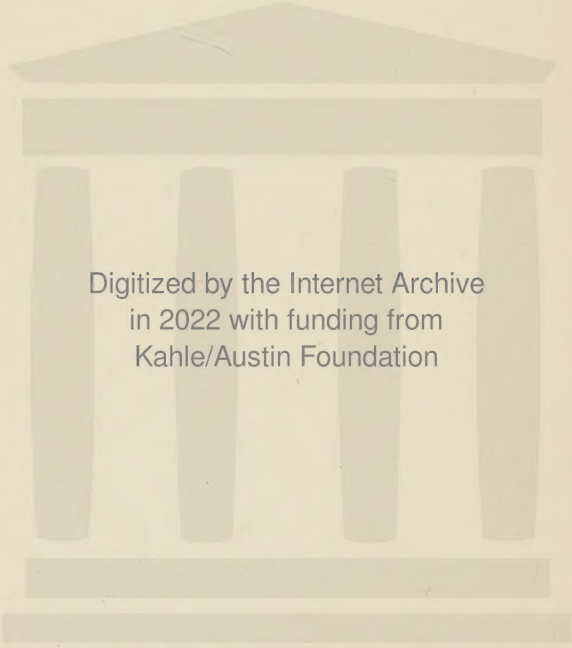
CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE



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M. TULLI CICERONIS

CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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American Edition Revised

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PREFACE.

THREE years ago Mr. James S. Reid, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, prepared for the Syndics of the University Press editions of Cicero's *Cato Maior de Senectute* and *Laelius de Amicitia*. The thorough and accurate scholarship displayed, especially in the elucidation of the Latinity, immediately won for the books a cordial reception; and since then they have gained a permanent place in the esteem of English scholars.

The present volume has the full authorization of Mr. Reid, and was prepared with the design of presenting to American students, in a form best adapted to their use, the results of his work. The Text remains substantially that of Mr. Reid; while mention is made in the notes of the most important variations in readings and orthography from other editions. The Introductions have been recast, with some enlargement; the analyses of the subject-matter in particular have been entirely remodelled. The Notes have been in some instances reduced, in others amplified, — especially by the addition of references to the standard treatises on grammar, history, and philosophy. It was at first the intention of the American editor to

indicate by some mark the matter due to himself; but as this could hardly be done without marring the appearance of the page, and thus introducing a source of confusion to the student, it was not attempted. In the work of revision free use of the principal German and English editions has been made.

To some the notes of the present edition may appear too copious. The aim throughout, however, has been not simply to give aid on difficult points, but to call attention to the finer usages of the Latin, and to add also whatever explanation seemed necessary to a clear understanding of the subject-matter. Latin scholarship which shall be at the same time broad and accurate, including not only a mastery of the language but also a comprehensive view of the various phases of Roman life and thought, will, it is believed, be best assured by the slow and careful reading of some portions of the literature and by the rapid survey of others. Certainly of the shorter Latin classics few would more fully repay close and careful study of both language and thought than these charming colloquies on Old Age and Friendship. While almost faultless in expression, they embody in a remarkable degree that universal element which characterizes the literary masterpiece, and makes it the valued possession not merely of an age or a nation, but of all time.

FRANCIS W. KELSEY.

LAKE FOREST, ILL., May, 1882.

INTRODUCTION.

I. CICERO AS A WRITER ON PHILOSOPHY.

(i.) State of Philosophy in Cicero's Time.

In Philosophy the Romans originated nothing. Their energies in the earlier years of the state were wholly absorbed in organization and conquest. Resting in a stern and simple creed, they had little speculative interest in matters outside the hard routine of their daily life. But with the close of the Period of Conquest came a change. The influx of wealth from conquered provinces, the formation of large landed estates, the excessive employment of slave labor, and the consequent rise of a new aristocracy, prepared the way for a great revolution. The old religion lost its hold on the higher classes; something was needed to take its place. With wealth and luxury came opportunity and desire for culture. Greece, with Art, Literature, and Philosophy fully developed and highly perfected, stood ready to instruct her rude conqueror.[1]

In Cicero's time the productive era of Greek Philosophy had well-nigh passed. Its tendency was less speculative, more ethical and practical than in the earlier time. There were four prominent schools, the New Academy, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean. The supporters of the last-named advocated in Science the doctrine of the atom, in Ethics the pursuit of pleasure, in Religion the complete inactivity of the gods.

[1] Horace, Ep. 2, 1, 156:—

Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.

The Stoics and Peripatetics were divided by comparatively unimportant differences. In Ethics, considered by them as almost the whole of Philosophy, which was itself defined as 'the art of living', the main question between the two schools was the amount of importance to be attributed to Virtue, — the Stoics declaring that in comparison with Virtue all other things sink into absolute insignificance, while the Peripatetics maintained that these have a certain though infinitesimally small significance. The New Academy taught at this time no complete philosophical system. It simply proclaimed the view that in the field of knowledge certainty is unattainable, and that all the inquirer has to do is to balance probabilities one against the other. The New Academic, therefore, was free to accept any opinions which seemed to him to have the weight of probability on their side, but he was bound to be ready to abandon them when anything appeared which altered his views of the probabilities. He not only might be, but he could not help being, *eclectic;* that is, he chose such views promulgated by other schools as seemed to him at the moment to be most reasonable or probable. Cicero called himself an adherent of this school. On most points however, although eclectic, he agreed with the Peripatetics, but with a decided leaning toward the Stoic ethical system. The Stoic opinion that it is the duty of the wise man to abstain from public life, which the Peripatetics contested, Cicero decisively rejected. With the Epicureans he had absolutely no sympathy. Up to this time these schools and their teachings were known to the Romans only through the medium of the Greek. The only Latin philosophical literature was Epicurean, and, excepting the poem of Lucretius (*De Rerum Natura*), scarcely famous as yet, consisted entirely of books rudely written, although considerably read.

(ii.) The Mission of Cicero in Philosophy.

Cicero made no claim to originality as a philosopher, nor even to complete acquaintance with every detail of the Greek systems.[1]

[1] De Off. 1, 1, 2: *philosophandi scientiam concedens multis* etc.

In early life he had studied with enthusiasm and success all the learning of the Greeks, but especially in the two departments of Rhetoric and Philosophy, then closely connected, or rather hardly distinguished. He not only sought the society of learned Greeks, but spent considerable time in study at Rhodes and Athens, which had become not merely the 'school of Greece', as Thucydides makes Pericles call her, but the school of the civilized world.[1] When, by reason of political troubles, he was forced to retire to private life, he began to carry out a great plan for interpreting the best philosophical writings of the Greeks to his fellow-countrymen. For this work his liberal views as a New Academic peculiarly fitted him. His usual method was to take one or two leading Greek works on the subject with which he was dealing, and to represent freely in his own language their subject-matter, introducing episodes and illustrations of his own. He thus presented to the Romans in their own tongue the most significant portions of the Greek Philosophy; and in his writings there has come down to us much, especially of the Post-Aristotelian Philosophy, that was doomed to oblivion in the original Greek. But further than this, to Cicero more than to any other Roman is due the formation of a Latin philosophical vocabulary, by which the language was enriched and fitted for the part it has since taken as the Language of the Learned. While on many points Cicero's own views can hardly be determined with perfect exactness, the exalted sentiments and the exquisite literary finish of his philosophical writings have always won admiration; and through them he has exerted no small influence on the literature and life of modern times.[2]

[1] To judge rightly of Cicero it must be remembered that he was a politician only by accident: his whole natural bent was towards literature.

[2] To see the truth of this it is only necessary to refer for example to the weight given to the opinions of Cicero in the heated political discussions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

(iii.) The Philosophical Writings of Cicero

During the whole of an exceptionally busy public life Cicero devoted his spare moments to reading and to the society of the learned. After his exile in 58 and 57 B. C. his political career, except for a brief period just before his death, was over, and it is at this time that his period of great literary activity begins. In 55 he produced the work *De Oratore*, in 54 the *De Re Publica*, and in 52 the *De Legibus*, all three works, according to ancient ideas, entitled to rank as philosophical.[1]

From 51 to 46 B. C. owing first to his absence in Cilicia, then to the civil troubles, Cicero almost ceased to write. But in the latter year he was reconciled with Caesar, and as the Senate and law courts were closed against him on his refusal to compromise his political principles, he betook himself with greater devotion than ever to literature. The first work written in 46 was the *Hortensius*, or *De Philosophia*, now lost. It was founded on a lost dialogue of Aristotle, and set forth the advantages of studying Philosophy. During the same year Cicero completed several oratorical works, the *Partitiones Oratoriae*, the *Brutus*, or *De Claris Oratoribus*, and the *Orator*, all of which are extant.

Early in 45 Cicero lost his beloved daughter Tullia. He passed the whole year in retirement, trying to soothe his grief by incessant writing. In quick succession appeared

De Consolatione, an attempt to apply philosophy to the mitigation of his own sorrow and that of others;

Academica, an exposition of the New Academic Philosophy, advocating probability rather than certainty as the foundation of philosophy;

De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum, a work criticising the most prominent views entertained concerning Ethics;

Disputationes Tusculanae, treating of certain conditions essential to morality and happiness;

[1] Almost every branch of learning was ranked under the head of Philosophy. Strabo even claimed that one branch of Philosophy was Geography.

De Natura Deorum, an examination of the principal theories regarding the nature and power of the gods;

Cato Maior, on old age; *Laelius*, on friendship;

De Fato, discussing Fate and Free Will;

Paradoxa, a book setting forth certain remarkable views of the Stoics;

De Officiis, a treatise on practical ethics, the application of moral principles to the questions and difficulties of ordinary life.

These works, written mostly in 45 and 44, are, except the *De Cons.*, still extant. To the list may be added also other works of a rhetorical nature, such as the *Topica* and *De Optimo Genere Dicendi*, and some lost philosophical books, such as *De Gloria*.

Even though allowance be made for the fact that Cicero was giving in Latin the substance of Greek books with which he had been familiar from boyhood, the mental vigor and literary power exhibited by this series of works appear prodigious when we consider their great compass and variety and the generally high finish of their style.

References. — For a fuller account of Cicero's philosophical views and writings consult Ritter, 'History of Ancient Philosophy', Vol. 4, Ch. 2; Maurice, 'Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy', Ch. 7, § 5; Tennemann and Morell, 'History of Philosophy', Ch. 3 Ueberweg, 'History of Philosophy', Vol 1, § 61; J. B. Mayor, 'Sketch of Ancient Philosophy', pp. 223–244; Teuffel, 'History of Roman Literature', Vol. 1, § 172 *et seq.*; Cruttwell, 'History of Roman Literature', Bk. II. Part 1, Ch. 2; 'Cicero', by Collins, in Ancient Classics for English Readers, Ch. 10, *et seq.*; also the Introduction to Reid's edition of the *Academica*, and the account of Cicero by Prof. Ramsay in Smith's Dictionary of Biography and Mythology. The most attractive biography of Cicero in English is that by Forsyth. That by Trollope is able but quite partisan. On the philosophy, consult also Zeller's 'Eclectics.'

II. THE CATO MAIOR.

(i.) Origin and Scope.

1. *Date and Circumstances of Composition.*

The date at which the Cato Maior was written can be determined with almost perfect exactness. A mention in Cicero's work entitled *De Divinatione*[1] shows that the Cato Maior preceded that work by a short time. The *De Divinatione* was written after the assassination of Caesar, that is, after the 15th of March in the year 44.[2] Again, the Cato Maior is mentioned as a recent work in three letters addressed by Cicero to Atticus.[3] The earliest of these letters was written on or about the 12th of May, 44.[4] We shall hardly err, therefore, if we assume that Cicero composed the Cato Maior in April of the year 44.[5] This agrees also with slight indications in the work itself. In the dedicatory introduction Cicero speaks of troubles weighing heavily on himself and Atticus.[6] Any one who reads the letters to Atticus despatched in April, 44, will have little doubt that the troubles hinted at are the apprehensions as to the course of Antonius, from whom Cicero had personally something to fear. Atticus was using all the influence he could bring to bear on Antonius in order to secure Cicero's safety;

[1] 2, 3 *interiectus est nuper liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus.* No argument can be founded on the words *interiectus est*, over which the editors have wasted much ingenuity. They simply mean 'there was inserted in the series of my works'.

[2] See 2, 23.

[3] 14, 21, 3; 16, 3, 1; 16, 11, 3.

[4] See Att. 14, 21, 1.

[5] It was certainly not written, as Sommerbrodt assumes, in the intervals of composing the De Divinatione. The words in 2, 7 of that work — *quoniam de re publica consuli coepti sumus* etc. — point to the end of September or beginning of October, 44, when Cicero returned to Rome and began to compose his Philippic orations.

[6] § 1.

hence Cicero's care to avoid in the dedication all but the vaguest possible allusions to politics. Had that introduction been written before Caesar's death, we should have had plain allusions (as in the prooemia of the *Academica*, the *De Finibus*, the *Tusculan Disputations*, and the *De Natura Deorum*) to Caesar's dictatorship.[1]

The time was one of desperate gloom for Cicero. The downfall of the old constitution had overwhelmed him with sorrow, and his brief outburst of joy over Caesar's death had been quickly succeeded by disgust and alarm at the proceedings of Antonius. The deep wound caused by his daughter's death[2] was still unhealed. It is easy to catch in the Cato Maior some echoes of his grief for her. When it is said that of all Cato's titles to admiration none is higher than the fortitude he showed in bearing the death of his son,[3] the writer is thinking of the struggle he himself had been waging against a like sorrow for more than a year past; and when Cato expresses his firm conviction that he will meet his child beyond the grave,[4] we can see Cicero's own yearning for reunion with his deeply loved Tullia.

2. *Greek Sources.*

All Cicero's philosophical and rhetorical writings were confessedly founded more or less on Greek originals.[5] The stores from which he principally drew in writing the Cato Maior are clearly indicated in several parts of the work. Passages from Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* are translated in Chapters 17 and 22. In Chapters 2 and 3 there is a close imitation of the conversation between Socrates and Cephalus at the beginning of Plato's *Republic*, while in Chapter 21 is reproduced one of the most

[1] It is perhaps not a mere accident that the prowess of L. Brutus *in liberanda patria* is mentioned in § 75. There may be a reference to the latest Brutus who had freed his country.

[2] In March, 45.

[3] § 12.

[4] § 84.

[5] See p. iii. above.

striking portions of the *Phaedo*, 72 E–73 B, 78–80.[1] The view of the divine origin and destiny of the human soul contained in the passage from the *Phaedo* is rendered by Cicero in many of his works,[2] and was held by him with quite a religious fervor and sincerity.

Besides these instances of special indebtedness Cicero, in composing the Cato Maior, was no doubt under obligations of a more general kind to the Greeks. The form of the dialogue is Greek, and Aristotelian rather than Platonic.[3] But further, it is highly probable that Cicero owed to some particular Greek dialogue on Old Age the general outline of the arguments he there brings forward. Many of the Greek illustrative allusions may have had the same origin, though in many cases Roman illustrations must have been substituted for Greek. Whether the dialogue by Aristo Cius, cursorily mentioned in the Cato Maior,[4] was at all used by Cicero or not it is impossible to determine.[5]

3. *Purpose.*

The Cato Maior is a popular essay in Ethics, applying the principles of philosophy to the alleviation of one of life's chief burdens, old age. In ancient times, when philosophy formed the real and only religion of the educated class, themes like this were deemed to afford a worthy employment for the pens even of the greatest philosophers. Such essays formed the only substitute the ancients had for our Sermons. There can be no doubt of Cicero's sincerity when he says that the arguments he sets

[1] In the notes exact references will be given to the places in the original where the other passages mentioned may be found.

[2] Particularly the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations*, the *De Republica*, and the *Laelius*.

[3] See 4, below.

[4] § 3.

[5] Works on Old Age are said to have been written by Theophrastus and Demetrius Phalereus, either or both of which Cicero might have used. One passage in § 67, *facilius in morbos ... tristius curantur*, is supposed by many to have been imitated from Hippocrates; but the resemblance is probably accidental. Cf. De Off. 1, 24, 83.

forth in the treatise had given him real comfort,[1] and the opening words of the dedication show that he meant and hoped to administer the same comfort to his friend Atticus, who indeed acknowledged the benefit he derived from the work.[2] When Cicero wrote the treatise he was himself sixty-two years of age, while his friend was three years older. He speaks, therefore, rather euphemistically when he says that his purpose is to lighten the trouble of an old age which is already close at hand, or at all events approaching.[3]

But in addition to the main ethical purpose, there was, as in many of Cicero's works, a distinct political purpose. He desired to stimulate in his readers an admiration for what he regarded as the golden age of Roman politics, the era of the Punic wars, and to do this by making the contrast between that age and his own appear as striking as possible. A like double purpose is apparent throughout the *De Re Publica*, where Africanus the younger is the chief personage, and in the treatise on Friendship, where Laelius is the central figure. For the dialogue on Old Age M. Porcius Cato the Censor is selected as the principal speaker for two reasons: first, because he was renowned for the vigor of mind and body he displayed in advanced life;[4] and secondly, because in him were conspicuously exhibited the serious simplicity, the unswerving adherence to principle, and the self-sacrificing patriotism which were the ideal Roman virtues, and which Cicero could not find among the politicians of his time.

4. *Form and Language.*

The Cato Maior, like most of Cicero's philosophical writings, is cast in the form of a dialogue. Among the ancients the dia-

[1] See § 2.

[2] See Att. 16, 11, 3; 16, 3, 1; 14, 21, 3.

[3] § 2.

[4] As Cicero's intention was to set old age in a favorable light, he slights Aristo Cius for giving to Tithonus the chief part in a dialogue on old age. See § 3; cf. also Laelius, § 4.

logue was a common rhetorical device, especially in the presentation of abstruse subjects. The introduction of characters to conduct the discussion gave vividness and clearness to the unfolding of the argument, as well as a kind of dramatic interest to the production. In the Cato Maior[1] and the Laelius, as generally, Cicero followed the plan of Aristotle's dialogues (now lost) rather than that of the dialogues of Plato. In the former there was more of exposition and less of discussion than in the latter; one person stated his views on some question, and the company in attendance only made occasional remarks without attempting to debate the question. In the latter, although one person, Socrates, is everywhere prominent, others are continually drawn into the discussions, and there is a quick interchange of question and answer. The Aristotelian form was better adapted to Cicero's purposes than the Platonic; the progress of the argument was less interrupted, and thus better opportunity for a symmetrical development of the theme was afforded. Then, too, the former was more popular. The style of Aristotle[2] had been imitated by Theophrastus and many other writers down to Cicero's time, while that of Plato had found hardly any imitators.

The editors of the Cato Maior have generally assumed that Cicero attempted to give an antique coloring to the diction of the dialogue in order to remind readers of Cato's own style. It is only necessary to read a page or two of Cato's *De Re Rustica* to have this illusion dispelled. The only things actually alleged to be archaisms are (1) the use of deponent participles as passives in §§ 4, 59, 74, a thing common enough in Cicero; (2) the occurrence of *quasi* = *quem ad modum* in § 71; (3) of *audaciter* = *audacter* in § 72; (4) of *tuerentur* for *intuerentur* in § 77; (5) of *neutiquam* in § 42; (6) of the nominative of the gerundive governing an accusative case in § 6. In every instance the

[1] See below (ii.), 1.

[2] On the whole subject of Aristotle's dialogues see Bernays' monograph, *Die Dialoge des Aristoteles.*

notes will supply a refutation of the allegation. That Cicero should attempt to write in any style but his own is exceedingly improbable.

5. *Personages.*

The conversation is supposed to take place between Cato, Scipio Africanus the younger, and Laelius, in the year before Cato's death, *i. e.* 150 B. C., when he was in his eighty-fourth year,[1] Scipio being about 35 and Laelius a few years older.

(1.) *Cato.* M. Porcius Cato was born in 234 B. C.[2] at the ancient Latin town of Tusculum. Little is known of his family except that it was plebeian, and possessed a small patrimony in the territory of the Sabines, close to the farm of M'. Curius Dentatus, one of Cato's great heroes and models. The heads of the family, so far as memory extended, had distinguished themselves as tough warriors and hardy farmers. Among the Sabines, who even down to the times of the Empire were famed for simplicity of manners and the practice of all the sterner virtues, Cato passed those portions of his life which were not occupied with business of state. From his earliest days he toiled in his own fields, and contented himself with the hardest rustic life.[3] Yet even in his boyhood Cato must have passed intervals at Rome, and seen something of the great statesmen and generals of the time.[4] He seems to have received when young as thorough an education as was possible without learning Greek, such an education as was to be obtained only in the capital. He grew up to manhood in the comparatively quiet

[1] § 32 *quartum ago annum et octogesimum.* Cf. Lael. 11 *memini Catonem ante quam est mortuus mecum et cum Scipione disserere* etc.

[2] Cicero always indicates this date; cf. § 14. Some other writers, as Livy, give, probably wrongly, an earlier date.

[3] He himself says (Festus, p. 281) *ego iam a principio in parsimonia atque in duritia atque industria omnem adulescentiam, abstinui agro colendo, saxis Sabinis silicibus repastinandis atque conserendis.* Cf. Gell. *Noct. Att.* 13, 23.

[4] See Cat. M. 44.

period between the first and the second Punic wars; the most exciting event of his younger years must have been the destruction at Clastidium of the vast hordes of Celts who had swept over the northern half of Italy, almost within reach of Rome.

Cato was of the age for military service about the time of the battle of Lake Trasimenus, and entered the army then as a common soldier.[1] The first expedition in which he is definitely said to have taken part is that of Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator against Hannibal in Campania, in 214.[2] This Roman commander was a man entirely after Cato's heart, and became one of his models in public life.

Before and during the early years of his soldier's life, Cato succeeded in winning some reputation as an orator, having practised first in the provincial courts near his home, and afterwards at Rome.[3] This reputation as well as his great force of character procured for him a powerful life-long friend and patron, M. Valerius Flaccus, a statesman of the old Roman conservative-democratic school of politics, the leader of which was Fabius Cunctator. Through the influence of Flaccus, possibly with the aid of Fabius, Cato became military tribune, and served with that rank under Marcellus in Sicily, under Fabius again at the capture of Tarentum in 209,[4] and under C. Claudius Nero at the battle of the Metaurus, where he contributed materially to that great victory.

In 204 Cato began his political career with the quaestorship.[5] As he was a *novus homo* and a man of small private means, it was no small distinction that he had forced his way to office in

[1] Plut. C. 1; Cat. M. §§ 18, 32: Cato himself ap. Fest. s. v. *ordinarius* says *quid mihi fieret si non ego stipendia in ordine omnia ordinarius meruissem semper?*

[2] § 10.

[3] If Plutarch may be trusted, Cato at the age of 30 had won for himself the title of 'the Roman Demosthenes'.

[4] § 10.

[5] In § 10 Cicero makes the quaestorship fall in 205, but he refers to the election, not to the actual year of office.

his thirtieth year. The lot assigned him as quaestor to Scipio, then in Sicily and about to cross over into Africa. The chance was most unfortunate, if for no other reason, because Cato was intimately connected with the party in the senate opposed to Scipio, which had been attempting to bring him to trial for the atrocities committed by the Roman army in southern Italy. But in addition the two men were so utterly different that there was no possibility of the quaestor standing in that filial relation to his consul, which old Roman custom required. As financial officer, Cato complained of the luxury and extravagance which Scipio allowed not only to himself but to his army. Yet the complaint was made not so much on economic as on moral grounds; it seemed to Cato that the old Roman discipline and power to endure hardships were being swept away. The dispute was ended by Scipio allowing Cato to return to Rome, some authorities say from Sicily, others from Africa. According to one writer,[1] he came home by way of Sardinia and brought thence with him Ennius the poet.[2]

In 199 Cato was plebeian aedile, and exercised with severity the police jurisdiction pertaining to that office, yet so as to win popular approval, since he was chosen praetor for 198 without the usual interval. The province of Sardinia was entrusted to him, and he strained every nerve to make his government present as strong a contrast as possible with the lax and corrupt administration of the nobles who took Scipio for their pattern. The troops were sternly disciplined, and law-breakers of every kind severely dealt with; in money matters the strictest economy prevailed; all gifts from provincials to Roman officers were forbidden. The praetor, the great representative of Roman power, passed from town to town attended by a single servant.

In 196 Cato was occupied with his canvass for the consulship

[1] Nepos (or pseudo-Nepos), Cat. 1.

[2] Cato afterwards made it a charge against M. Fulvius Nobilior that he had taken Ennius with him on a campaign (Tusc. 1, 3). But Cato used Ennius as soldier while Nobilior employed him as poet.

of the year 195, to which he was elected in company with his friend Flaccus. Cato was the first *novus homo* elected since C. Flaminius, the consul of 217. It is probable, though not certain, that he paved the way to his election by carrying the first of the *leges Porciae*, restricting the right of punishing Roman citizens. During the whole of his career Cato showed a high sense of the importance of the individual *civis Romanus*.

One of the first official acts of the new consul was to deliver a set speech to the people against a proposal to repeal the Oppian law, passed twenty years before, the object of which was to prevent lavish expenditure on dress and adornments, particularly by women. We have a lively report of Cato's speech from Livy's pen, partly founded on the speech as published by Cato himself.[1] The earnest pleading in favor of simple manners and economy failed, after having almost caused an open insurrection on the part of the women.[2]

The two new provinces in Spain, Hispania Citerior and Ulterior, were still in a very unsettled state. The nearer province was made a consular province and assigned to Cato; the praetor who governed the farther province was also placed under Cato's jurisdiction. Before leaving Rome Cato carried a law for protecting the provincials from extortion. During the whole of his year of office he practised with the utmost exactness his principles of purity, simplicity, and economy in public affairs. He is said to have started from his house on the journey to Spain with only three servants, but when he got as far as the forum, it struck him that such an attendance was scarcely worthy of a Roman consul, so he purchased two more slaves on the spot! In the same spirit, before returning he sold his horse that the state might not be at the expense of transporting it to Italy. Cato was no less careful of the revenue than of the expenditure. He largely increased the productiveness of the mines and other

[1] It is difficult, however, to fix the date of this enactment. Some authorities place it after Cato's return from Spain.

[2] Livy 34, cc. 1–8.

property belonging to the state, and all goods captured from the enemy were sold for the benefit of the exchequer. On leaving the province Cato made an unusually large gift to each soldier, saying that it was better for all to bring home silver than for a few to bring home gold. The provincials were thoroughly content with their ruler and ever after looked on him as their best friend. The army was kept in the strictest discipline. Some disorderly conduct of the *equites* was rebuked by Cato in a bitter harangue which he afterwards published. Partly by craft, partly by good leadership in the field, Cato broke the strength of the turbulent natives and returned to enjoy a well-earned triumph.[1] In the same year (194) a brilliant triumph was celebrated by Flamininus.

Scipio, probably uneasy at the great reputations quickly won by Flamininus and Cato, secured his second consulship for the year 194, but failed to achieve anything remarkable. Cato probably spent the three years after his return for the most part at his Sabine farm. When the war against Antiochus broke out, he took service along with his friend Flaccus on the staff of the consul Glabrio,[2] and by a difficult march over the mountains broke in on the king's rear, and so was chiefly instrumental in winning the great battle of Thermopylae, by which Antiochus was driven out of Greece. Immediately after the battle Cato returned home with despatches. We have dim and uncertain information that he took the field once or twice again, but his career as a soldier was practically ended.

From this time to his death, forty years later, Cato was the leading figure on the stage of Roman politics. In season and out of season he attacked abuses or innovations in speeches addressed to the senate, the people, or the courts. Soon after his return from Thessaly he struck a heavy blow at the unrepublican honor-hunting among the magistrates, of which the example

[1] See Livy, 34, 18.

[2] *i. e.* he was *legatus consularis*. It was at the time a common thing for ex-consuls to take service under their successors. So Liv. 36, 17, 1, but Cic. Cat. M. c 10 says *tribunus militaris*.

had been set by P. Scipio Africanus. Most provincial governors drove their subjects into war, sent lying despatches home about their victories, and claimed a triumph. In 190 Cato attacked with success the proposal to grant a triumph to Q. Minucius Thermus, who had already triumphed over the Spaniards as praetor, and after his consulship in 193 had fought against the Ligurians. Cato's next victim was his former commander M'. Acilius Glabrio, who came forward at the same time with Cato, Marcellus (a son of the captor of Syracuse), L. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, T. Quinctius Flamininus (the conqueror of Macedonia) and Cato's friend L. Valerius Flaccus, as candidate for the censorship of 189. Cato by his violent speeches procured the trial of Glabrio for appropriating the plunder captured in Thessaly, and himself gave evidence concerning some property which had disappeared. Glabrio denounced Cato as a perjurer, but yet retired from his candidature. On this occasion Cato and Flaccus failed, Marcellus being elected as plebeian and Flamininus as patrician censor.

In the next year (188) Cato acted in the senate with the party which tried unsuccessfully to refuse the triumph to the two consuls of 189, M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso, the former of whom had gained none but trifling advantages over the Aetolians, while the latter had disgraced the Roman name by making war without authorization upon the Gauls of Asia Minor, and had also suffered a humiliating defeat from some Thracian robber bands on his homeward march. Not disheartened by ill success, Cato and his friends determined to strike at higher game. L. Scipio Asiaticus (or Asiagenus), the brother of Africanus, was asserted in the senate to have appropriated 3000 talents of public money when in command against Antiochus. Legal proceedings were taken not only against Asiaticus, but against Africanus, who behaved with great violence and arrogance. In the end Africanus withdrew to his country estate, while his brother was condemned to pay a heavy fine. A deathstroke had been given to the almost kingly authority of Africanus, who never again showed his face in Rome. The proceed-

ings against the Scipios seem to have begun in 187 and not to have been completed before 185.

Nearly twenty years had passed since the conflict between Cato and Scipio began, and now it had ended in a complete triumph for Cato.[1] But the new modes of which Scipio was the chief patron were too strong to be conquered, and Cato spent the rest of his life in fighting a hopeless battle against them, though he fought for a time with the strongest weapons that the constitution supplied. In 184 he was censor along with Flaccus, who seems to have allowed his colleague full liberty of action. Every portion of the censor's duty was carried out on the most severe and 'old Roman' principles. Seven senators were degraded, among them L. Flamininus, an ex-consul and brother of the 'liberator of the Hellenes,' for serious misconduct,[2] also Manilius, an ex-praetor, for no worse offence than that of having kissed his wife in presence of his daughter. M. Furius Purpurio, who had actually competed with Cato for the censorship, was punished for diverting a public aqueduct for his private advantage. Flaccus was named leader of the senate in the place of Scipio Africanus, now dead.

On reviewing the *equites*, Cato removed from that body L. Scipio and many others on various charges: this one had allowed himself to grow too fat for horsemanship; that had failed to groom his horse properly; another had neglected his farm; another again had made an untimely jest on the occasion of the review itself. With the ordinary citizens Cato dealt just as harshly. In his censorian edict he sharply reproved the extravagance prevalent at private feasts. All articles of luxury, such as slaves purchased at fancy prices, luxurious clothing, carriages, statues, and pictures were rendered liable to heavy taxation. In this way Cato revenged himself for the repeal of the Oppian law.

[1] Cicero's statements throughout the treatise concerning the relations between Cato and Africanus the elder, particularly in § 77 where Cato calls his enemy *amicissimus*, are audaciously inexact.

[2] See Cato M. § 42.

In looking after the property and income of the state Cato followed the same principles he had acted on in Spain. He reduced the expenditure on public works as far as possible, and took care to sell at the full price the right to collect the revenue. Encroachments on the property of the nation were severely punished.

Not by acts only, but by constant speeches, full at once of grimness and humor, did Cato struggle against the degeneracy of his time.[1] He concluded his period of office with a self-laudatory harangue, and assumed the title *Censorius*, while his statue was placed in the temple of the goddess Salus with an inscription affirming that he had reformed the Roman nation.

But in a very brief time all trace of Cato's activity as censor was swept away, except that afforded by the numerous life-long quarrels in which he had involved himself.[2] In less than two years one of his victims, Purpurio, was employed by the senate on a high political mission, while another, L. Flamininus, sat among the senators at the games in defiance of Cato's sentence. Yet Cato remained by far the most powerful member of the senate. Titus Flamininus, his only important rival, quickly passed out of notice. So far as there was any democratic opposition to the senatorial oligarchy, Cato was the leader of that opposition for the remainder of his life. But at that period no great political movements agitated the state within; nearly the whole interest of the time was centred in the foreign relations of Rome. On matters of foreign policy Cato offered but little opposition to the prevailing tendencies of the age, though on particular occasions he exercised great influence. But his voice was at all times loudly heard on all questions of morality and public order. He supported the *lex Furia* and the *lex Voconia*, the object of which was to prevent the dissipation of family property, and the *lex Orchia*, directed against extravagant expendi-

[1] We possess the titles of 26 speeches delivered during or concerning his censorship.

[2] He is said to have undergone 44 prosecutions, and to have been prosecutor as often.

ture on feasts, also the *lex Baebia de ambitu*, the first serious attempt to check bribery. We hear also that Cato bitterly attacked Lepidus, censor in 180, for erecting a permanent theatre in place of the movable booths before used. The building was actually pulled down. We are told that from time to time he denounced the misdoings of provincial governors. In 171 he was one of a commission of five for bringing to justice three ex-praetors who had practised all manner of corruption in Spain Almost the last act of his life was to prosecute Galba for cruel misgovernment of the Lusitanians. The titles of Cato's speeches show that he played a great part in the deliberations of the senate concerning foreign affairs, but as his fighting days were over and he was unfitted for diplomacy, we have little explicit evidence of his activity in this direction. At the end of the third Macedonian war he successfully opposed the annexation of Macedonia. He also saved from destruction the Rhodians, who during the war had plainly desired the victory of Perseus, and in the early days, when the Roman commanders had ill success, had deeply wounded the whole Roman nation by an offer to mediate between them and the king of Macedon.

Cato had all his life retained his feeling of enmity to the Carthaginians, whom Scipio, he thought, had treated too tenderly. In 150 he was one of an embassy sent to Carthage, and came back filled with alarm at the prosperity of the city. It is said that whatever was the subject on which he was asked for his opinion in the senate, he always ended his speech with '*ceterum censeo delendam esse Carthaginem*'. P. Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Africanus, and the representative of his policy, always shouted out the opposite opinion, thinking that the fear of Carthage had a salutary effect on the Roman populace at large. But the ideas of Cato prevailed, and a cruel policy, carried out with needless brutality, led to the extinction of Rome's greatest rival. Cato did not live to see the conclusion of the war; he died in 149, at the age of 84 or 85 years, having retained his mental and physical vigor to the last. He had two sons, one by his first wife, and one by his second wife, born when Cato was 80

years of age. The elder son, to whom many of Cato's works were addressed, died as praetor-elect, before his father[1]. The other was grandfather of Cato Uticensis.

The literary activity of the old censor was great, though his leisure was small.[2] In Cicero's time a collection of 150 speeches was still extant. The titles of about 90 are still known to us, and of some we possess a few fragments. Cato's greatest work, however, was his *Origines*, the first real historical work written in Latin. His predecessors had been merely compilers of chronicles. The work was founded on laborious investigations, and comprised the history of Rome from the earliest times perhaps down to 150 B.C.[3], as well as notices of the history of other important Italian states. Further, Cato wrote of Agriculture, to which he was enthusiastically devoted. We still have his *De Re Rustica*, a collection of maxims loosely strung together. He also composed works on law; a sort of educational encyclopædia for his son; and a collection of witty sayings, Ἀποφθέγματα, drawn from Greek as well as from Roman sources.

Plutarch seems to have known a collected edition of the pungent and proverbial utterances for which the censor was famous, and for which (not for any knowledge of philosophy[4]) he received the title of *sapiens* ('shrewd') which he bore at the end of his life. This edition, however, was not compiled by Cato himself.

In view of Cicero's treatise, the Cato Maior, it is necessary to say something of Cato's relations with the Greeks and Greek literature. The ancients give us merely vague statements that he only began to learn Greek 'in his old age.' The expression must be liberally interpreted if, as seems clear, the whole of his writings showed the influence of Greek literature. It is certain, however, that he thoroughly detested the Greek nation. This hatred was shown in acts more than once. No doubt Cato was

[1] See Lael. 9; Cat. M. 12 and 84.

[2] Cf. Livy, 39, 40.

[3] The common view is that Cato said nothing of Roman history from 509-266 B. C.

[4] Cf. Cic. pro Arch. 7, 16.

at least a consenting party to the expulsion from Rome of Greek teachers in 161 B.C. When in 155 the famous embassy came from Athens consisting of Carneades the Academic, Critolaus the Peripatetic and Diogenes the Stoic, Cato was a prime mover of the decree by which they were removed from the city. Socrates was one of Cato's favorite marks for jests. And this is the man into whose mouth Cicero puts the utterances, but slightly veiled, of Greek wisdom!

(2.) *Scipio.* P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, the younger, was no blood relation of the conqueror of Hannibal, but the adopted son of his son. It must be remembered, however, that adoption was much more formal and binding, and produced much closer ties in ancient than in modern times.[1] The elder Africanus was unfortunate in his sons. The younger of these attained to the praetorship in 174, but was immediately driven from the senate by the censors of that year on account of his disreputable life. The elder was an invalid, who never held any office except that of augur, and died at an early age. He adopted the son of L. Aemilius Paulus, the victor of Pydna; the adopted son bore the name Aemilianus in memory of his origin. Cato's son married a daughter of Paulus, so that the censor was brought into relationship with the Cornelii, whose most illustrious representative he had hated and attacked.

The young Scipio was born about 185, and when scarce 17 years old fought with daring bravery at Pydna. While still very young he showed a great devotion to study, which he retained through life. He was a thorough partisan of the new Greek learning, and grouped around him in friendship all the leaders of the Hellenistic movement. Among his dearest friends were Polybius, the Greek statesman and historian, and later Panætius, the Stoic. In 151 B.C. when the consuls found it difficult to enlist officers and men for service in Spain, where great defeats had been suffered, Scipio volunteered, and served with great distinction as military tribune. When the war with Carthage broke out he

[1] See Coulanges, 'Ancient City', Bk. II. Ch. 4.

held the same rank, and shone by comparison with his blundering superior officers. Coming to Rome in 148 he stood for the ædileship, but was elected consul for the year 147, and again for 146, when he finished the war. He is said to have grieved over the fate of Carthage, and to have dreaded any further increase of the Roman territory. In 142 Scipio was censor, and acted with almost Catonian severity. In 134, though not a candidate, he was elected to the consulship and put in command of the Roman army then besieging the city of Numantia in Spain. The war, of which this siege formed a part, had been going on for some years most disastrously for the Romans, but Scipio speedily brought it to a conclusion in 133. While before Numantia he received news of the murder of Ti. Gracchus, whose sister he had married and whose cousin he had become by adoption, but whose policy he had on the whole opposed, though he had occasionally coquetted with the democrats. This course cost him the favor of the people, and when in 131 he desired to conduct the war against Aristonicus, only two of the thirty-five tribes voted for his appointment. In 129, after a violent scene in the senate, where he had opposed the carrying out of Ti. Gracchus' agrarian law, he was triumphantly escorted home by a crowd, composed chiefly of Italians whose interests had been threatened by the law. Next morning he was found dead in his bed. Opinion as to the cause of his death was divided at the time and so remained. In the *Laelius* the death is assumed to have been from natural causes.[1] Elsewhere, however, Cicero adopts the view of many of Scipio's friends that he was murdered by Carbo.[2] Carbo afterwards lent color to the suspicions by putting himself to death, in order, as was supposed, to avoid a direct prosecution. In ancient times even C. Gracchus was suspected of having thus avenged his brother's death, but no modern scholar of any rank has countenanced the suspicion.

Whether the degree of intimacy between Cato and Scipio, which Cicero assumes, ever existed or not, cannot be determined.[3]

[1] See §§ 12, 41 etc.

[2] De Or. 2, 170; Fam 9, 21, 3; Qu. Fr. 2, 3, 3.

[3] In *De Re Publica* 2, 1 Cicero makes Scipio talk extravagantly of Cato.

There was much in Scipio that would attract Cato. Unlike the elder Africanus, he was severe and simple in his outward life, and though a lover of Greek and Greeks, yet attached to all that was best in the old Roman character and polity. Though an opponent of revolution, he was far from being a partisan of the oligarchy. Altogether, of all Romans, he most nearly deserved the description, '*ανὴρ τετράγωνος ἄνευ ψόγου*,' 'a man four-square without reproach.' In his *De Re Publica*, Cicero points to Scipio as the ideal statesman, and often elsewhere eulogizes him as an almost perfect Roman.

(3.) *Laelius.* Gaius Laelius, born about 186, was Scipio's most distinguished officer before Carthage, and his most intimate friend throughout life. The friendship of the two was one of the most famous in antiquity, and is celebrated in the *Laelius*. Laelius was an able speaker, writer and soldier, and devoted to Greek learning, particularly to the Stoic philosophy. He is with Cicero the type of a man of culture.[1] He, too, is one of the interlocutors in the *De Re Publica*.

(ii.) Subject-Matter.

1. *General View.*

The Cato Maior falls naturally into three parts: —

Preliminary, dedication to Atticus, §§ 1–3;
Introductory Conversation, 4–9;
Cato's Defence of Old Age, 10–85.

After § 9 Cato continues to express his views on old age without interruption to the end, and the dialogue thus becomes really a monologue.

2. *Analysis.*

Preliminary . . . . . 1-3.

Cicero, addressing Atticus, states his purpose in writing the book and the effect of the work on himself (1, 2), the reasons

[1] See Introduction to the Laelius, pp. vi, vii.

for putting the sentiments on old age into the mouth of Cato, and the circumstances of the supposed conversation (3).

Introductory Conversation . . . . . 4-9.

Scipio declares his admiration of Cato's vigorous and happy old age. Cato replies that the secret lies in following the guidance of Nature (4, 5). Laelius then asks Cato to point out the road to such an old age as his own (6). This the old man promises to do, but first remarks that the faults charged against old age are generally due to defects of character (7). Laelius suggests that prosperity makes Cato's declining years pleasant. Cato admits that there may be some truth in this, but maintains that right character alone can make old age tolerable (8, 9).

Cato's Defence of Old Age . . . . . 10-85.

A. Introductory argument from fact. Account of celebrated old men whose lives till death were useful and happy 10–14
   (a). Fabius Maximus 10–12
   (b). Plato; (c). Isocrates; (d). Gorgias . . . 13
   (e). Ennius 14

B. Refutation of charges made against old age . . . 15–85
Statement of the four charges commonly made against old age: it withdraws men from active life, it weakens the physical powers, it takes away capacity for enjoyment, and it involves the anticipation of death 15

   A. Refutation of the first charge, that old age withdraws from active life.
      (a). There are employments suited to old age which are as necessary to the well-being of society as those which require greater physical powers . 15–20
      (b). The special objection that old men have weak memories is answered by showing that this is due either to an original defect or to insufficient exercise 21–22

(c). Argument from fact: instances of old men in public and in private life who till death were actively at work 23–26

B. Rebuttal of the second charge, that old age weakens the physical powers.

(a). Old age does not desire nor require the strength of youth, because it may exert influence through other means. Instances cited to show this 27–32

(b). Temperate habits will retain a good measure of strength till old age (33, 34); many instances of weakness in old age may be attributed to ill-health, which is common to all periods of life (35); proper care will greatly retard decay 33–38

C. Refutation of the third charge, that old age takes away the capacity for enjoyment.

(a). The pleasures in which youth finds its keenest enjoyment are in themselves bad, and old age is beneficent in freeing from their allurements 39–44

(b). Old age has pleasures far more refined and satisfying than those of sense . . . . . 45–64 Such as, those of conversation and literature (45–50); especially those of agriculture (51–61); and lastly, the exercise of influence, which old age will always possess if a rightly spent youth has preceded (62–64).

(c). The special objection that old men's tempers spoil their enjoyments is met by the statement that this is the fault of character, not of age . 65

D. Refutation of the fourth charge, that old age is unhappy because it involves the anticipation of death.

(a). Since the right aim of life is to live not long but well, death ought not to be dreaded at any age 66–69

(b). Old men, especially those of learning and culture, ought not to fear death 70–76
Because, that which is according to nature is good, and it is natural for old men to die (70–73); the process of dying is brief and almost painless (74); even young men and those without learning often set the example of despising death (75); and old age, just as the other periods of life, has finally its season of ripeness and satiety (76).

(c). Death is probably the gateway to a happy immortality 77–85
Tending towards proof of this are the arguments stated in Plato; viz. the rapidity of the mind's action, its powers of memory and invention, its self-activity, indivisible nature and pre-existence (78); also the arguments, attributed to Cyrus, based upon the soul's immateriality, the posthumous fame of great men and the likeness of death to sleep (79-81); the instinctive belief in immortality, so strong as even to form an incentive for action (82); and, finally, the speaker's own longing after immortality and hope of union with those whom he once knew and loved (83–85).

M. TULLI CICERONIS

CATO MAIOR

DE SENECTUTE.

I. *O Tite, si quid ego adiuero curamve levasso*
quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,
ecquid erit praemi?

Licet enim mihi versibus isdem affari te, Attice, quibus affatur Flamininum

ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei,

quamquam certo scio non, ut Flamininum,

sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque,

novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor isdem rebus quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. Hoc enim onere, 2
quod mihi commune tecum est, aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et me ipsum levari volo: etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter, sicut omnia, et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas

dignus eo munere, quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita iucunda huius libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnis absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et iucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur laudari satis digne philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit
3 degere. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa et saepe dicemus: hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Cius, parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula, sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet oratio: apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantis, quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem, qui si eruditius videbitur disputare quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Iam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

4 II. Scipio. Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.

Cato. Rem haud sane, Scipio et Laeli, difficilem admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est: qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, eis nihil potest malum videri quod naturae necessitas afferat. Quo in genere est in primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam: tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere

aiunt eam citius quam putassent. Primum quis coegit eos falsum putare? Qui enim citius adulescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit? Deinde qui minus gravis esset eis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent, quam si octogesimum? Praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa, cum effluxisset, nulla consolatione permulcere posset stultam senectutem. Quocirca 5
si sapientiam meam admirari soletis, quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine, in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus: a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene descriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum et, tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus, maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferundum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?

Laelius. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam 6
pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, volumus quidem certe, senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.

Cato. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est.

Laelius. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediundum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

III. Cato. Faciam ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim 7
interfui querellis aequalium meorum, pares autem vetere

proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur, quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares, nostri fere aequales, deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab eis, a quibus essent coli soliti; qui mihi non id videbantur accusare, quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querella, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istius modi querellarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt, importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

8 LAELIUS. Est, ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere.

CATO. Est istuc quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia; ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua, sed patriae gloria splendorem assecutum: 'nec hercule', inquit, 'si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses'. Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest; nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti quidem,
9 nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt, ne extremo quidem

tempore aetatis, quamquam id quidem maximum est, verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio iucundissima est.

IV. Ego Q. Maximum, eum qui Tarentum recepit, 10
senem adulescens ita dilexi, ut aequalem. Erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat. Quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen iam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuveniliter exsultantem patientia sua molliebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem;
noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem;
ergo plusque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! 11
Cum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fugerat in arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti, 'mea opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti', 'certe', inquit ridens, 'nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam recepissem'. Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga; qui consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente, C. Flaminio tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti;

augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est optimis auspiciis ea geri, quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur; quae contra rem publicam ferrentur, contra auspicia ferri.
12 Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi, sed nihil admirabilius quam quo modo ille mortem fili tulit, clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo, quae praecepta! Quanta notitia antiquitatis, scientia iuris auguri! Multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae: omnia memoria tenebat non domestica solum, sed etiam externa bella. Cuius sermone ita tum cupide fruebar, quasi iam divinarem, id quod evenit, illo exstincto fore unde discerem neminem.

13 V. Quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo? Quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestris navalisve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus, qualem Isocrati, qui eum librum, qui Panathenaicus inscribitur, quarto nonagesimo anno scripsisse dicit vixitque quinquennium postea; cuius magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos, neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur cur tam diu vellet esse in vita, 'nihil habeo,' inquit, 'quod accusem senectutem'.
14 Praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum! Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem

conferunt, quod non faciebat is, cuius modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

sic ut fortis equs, spatio qui saepe supremo
vicit Olumpia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam; quem quidem probe meminisse potestis; anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules, T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius, facti sunt; ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem. Annos septuaginta natus, tot enim vixit Ennius, ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur.

Etenim, cum complector animo, quattuor reperio 15
causas cur senectus misera videatur: unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis; alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius; tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus; quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit iusta una quaeque videamus.

VI. A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit. Quibus? An eis, quae iuventute geruntur et viribus? Nullaene igitur res sunt seniles, quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus, nihil L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimi viri fili mei? Ceteri senes, Fabricii Curii Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant? Ad Appi Claudi senectutem accedebat etiam ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senatus in- 16

clinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

> *quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant*
> *antehac, dementis sese flexere viai?*

ceteraque gravissime, notum enim vobis carmen est, et tamen ipsius Appi exstat oratio. Atque haec ille egit septemdecim annis post alterum consulatum, cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset, ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse, et tamen sic a patribus
17 accepimus. Nihil igitur afferunt qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant, similesque sunt ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi, non faciat ea, quae iuvenes. At vero multo maiora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio auctoritate sententia, quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri
18 senectus solet; nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor, cum bella non gero. At senatui quae sint gerenda praescribo et quo modo; Carthagini male iam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio, de qua vereri non ante desinam quam
19 illam exscisam esse cognovero. Quam palmam utinam di immortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi relliquias persequare, cuius a morte tertius hic et tricesimus annus est, sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est,

novem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? Nec enim excursione nec saltu, nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio ratione sententia, quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent senatum. Apud Lacedae- 20
monios quidem ei, qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo qui vestram rem publicam tantam amisistis tam cito?

sic enim percontantur in Naevi poetae Ludo. Respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

proveniebant oratores novi, stulti adulescentuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

VII. At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam ex- 21
erceas, aut etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina; num igitur censetis eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos, nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audivi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia quae curant meminerunt, vadimonia constituta, quis sibi, cui ipsi debeant. Quid 22
iuris consulti, quid pontifices, quid augures, quid phi-

losophi senes? Quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria, neque ea solum claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit; quod propter studium cum rem neglegere familiarem videretur, a filiis in iudicium vocatus est, ut, quem ad modum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent iudices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, Oedipum Coloneum, recitasse iudicibus quaesisseque num illud carmen desipientis videre-
23 tur, quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus. Num igitur hunc, num Homerum Hesiodum Simoniden Stesichorum, num quos ante dixi Isocraten Gorgian, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoran Democritum, num Platonem Xenocraten, num postea Zenonem Cleanthen, aut eum, quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenen Stoicum coegit in suis studiis obmutiscere senectus? An in omnibus studiorum agitatio vitae
24 aequalis fuit? Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiaris meos, quibus absentibus numquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in aliis minus hoc mirum est, nemo enim est tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere; sed idem in eis elaborant, quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:

serit arbores, quae alteri saeclo prosint,

25 ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis. Nec vero dubitat agricola, quamvis sit senex, quaerenti cui serat respon-

dere: 'dis immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere'.

VIII. Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente, quam illud idem:

edepol, senectus, si nil quicquam aliud viti
adportes tecum, cum advenis, unum id sat est,
quod diu vivendo multa quae non volt videt.

Et multa fortasse quae volt, atque in ea, quae non volt, saepe etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius:

tum equidem in senecta hoc deputo miserrimum,
sentire ea aetate eumpse esse odiosum alteri.

Iucundum potius quam odiosum! Ut enim adulescenti- 26
bus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur, leviorque fit senectus eorum qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur, nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse iucundos. Sed videtis, ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet, quale cuiusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid, ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri, et ego feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici, quas quidem sic avide arripui quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socraten in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud, discebant enim fidibus antiqui, sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

27 IX. Ne nunc quidem viris desidero adulescentis, is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis, non plus quam adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo decet uti et quidquid agas agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae? Qui cum iam senex esset athletasque se exercentis in curriculo videret, aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur illacrimansque dixisse, 'at hi quidem mortui iam sunt'. Non vero tam isti, quam tu ipse, nugator, neque enim ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus iura civibus praescribebantur, quorum usque ad extremum spiri-
28 tum est provecta prudentia. Orator metuo ne languescat senectute: est enim munus eius non ingeni solum, sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos. Sed tamen est decorus seni sermo quietus et remissus, facitque persaepe ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis composita et mitis oratio, quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim est iucundius
29 senectute stipata studiis iuventutis? An ne illas quidem viris senectuti relinquimus, ut adulescentis doceat, instituat, ad omne offici munus instruat? Quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero et Cn. et P. Scipiones et avi tui duo L. Aemilius et P. Africanus comitatu nobilium iuvenum fortunati videbantur, nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ipsa ista defectio virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectute; libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia

effetum corpus tradit senectuti. Cyrus quidem apud 30
Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam quam adulescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, qui, cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum pontifex maximus factus esset, viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis, ut adulescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere, quamquam est id quidem senile aetatique nostrae conceditur. X. Videtisne, ut apud Home- 31
rum saepissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Tertiam enim aetatem hominum videbat, nec erat ei verendum ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, ex eius lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio; quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus. Et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat ut Aiacis similis habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris, quod si sibi acciderit, non dubitat quin brevi sit Troia peritura. Sed redeo ad me. Quartum 32
ago annum et octogesimum: vellem equidem idem posse gloriari quod Cyrus, sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem eis esse viribus, quibus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim aut quadriennio post, cum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas M'. Glabrione consule; sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit, non afflixit senectus: non curia viris meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim umquam sum assensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet mature fieri senem, si diu velis senex esse. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem quam esse

senem ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire
33 me voluit cui fuerim occupatus. At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Ponti centurionis viris habetis: num idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit et tantum quantum potest quisque nitatur, ne ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, cum umeris sustineret bovem: utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis viris ingeni dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit, cum absit, ne requiras: nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paulum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis et una via naturae eaque simplex, suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum et ferocitas iuvenum et gravitas iam constantis aetatis et senectutis maturitas naturale
34 quiddam habet, quod suo tempore percipi debeat. Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos: cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere; cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci ut capite operto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem, itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Ne sint in senectute vires: ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat aetas nostra muneribus eis quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur.
35 At multi ita sunt imbecilli senes, ut nullum offici aut

omnino vitae munus exsequi possint. At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit, quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, cum id ne adulescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt, pugnandum tamquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem, habenda ratio valetudinis, utendum exercitationi- 36
bus modicis, tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis. Nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defetigatione ingravescunt, animi autem exercitando levantur. Nam quos ait Caecilius 'comicos stultos senes,' hos significat credulos obliviosos dissolutos, quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis ignavae somniculosae senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum 37
levium est, non omnium. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex; intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos: metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant; vigebat in illo animus patrius

38 et disciplina. Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si ius suum retinet, si nemini emancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adulescentem in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem in quo est aliquid adulescentis probo, quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit. Septimus mihi liber Originum est in manibus; omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo; causarum illustrium, quascunque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes; ius augurium pontificium civile tracto; multum etiam Graecis litteris utor, Pythagoriorumque more, exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim audierim egerim commemoro vesperi. Hae sunt exercitationes ingeni, haec curricula mentis; in his desudans atque elaborans corporis viris non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis, venio in senatum frequens ultroque affero res multum et diu cogitatas easque tueor animi, non corporis viribus. Quas si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem, quae iam agere non possem; sed ut possim facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat senectus: ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

39 XII. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, si quidem id aufert a nobis, quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adulescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est cum essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo. Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis homini-

bus dicebat a natura datam, cuius voluptatis avidae libidines temere et ecfrenate ad potiendum incitarentur. Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum ever- 40
siones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia nasci; nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret; stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis illecebris nisi voluptatis; cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem. Nec enim libidine dominante temperan- 41
tiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere animo iubebat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta percipi posset maxima: nemini censebat fore dubium quin tam diu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum quam voluptatem, si quidem ea, cum maior esset atque longior, omne animi lumen exstingueret. Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre eius, a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius T. Veturius consules superati sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Tarentinus hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo Ap. Claudio consulibus reperio. Quorsus hoc? Ut intellegeretis, si 42
voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam esse habendam senectuti gratiam, quae efficeret ut id non liberet quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis ut

ita dicam praestringit oculos, nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem L. Flamininum e senatu eicerem septem annis post quam consul fuisset, sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim cum esset consul in Gallia exoratus in convivio a scorto est ut securi feriret aliquem eorum qui in vinculis essent, damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est, mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato coniungeret imperi dedecus.

43 XIII. Saepe audivi e maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea esse quendam Athenis qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia quae faceremus ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientis M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat: norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius, qui cum ex sua vita tum ex eius quem dico Deci facto iudicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte expeteretur quodque spreta et contempta voluptate optimus quisque
44 sequeretur. Quorsum igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis. Caret ergo etiam vinulentia et

cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam eius blanditiis non facile obsistimus, divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces, quamquam immoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duellium M. F., qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur cereo funali et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat: tantum licentiae dabat gloria. Sed quid ego alios? 45
Ad me ipsum iam revertar. Primum habui semper sodalis — sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae sunt sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis — epulabar igitur cum sodalibus, omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis, qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar; bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concenationem vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur.

XIV. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tem- 46
pestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque vobiscum, habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant, ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cuius est fortasse quidam naturalis modus, non intellego ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus carere sensu senec-

tutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta et is sermo, qui more maiorum a summo adhibetur in poculo, et pocula, sicut in Symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus. Quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo conviviumque vicinorum cotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus vario sermone producimus. At non est
47 voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus. Credo, sed ne desideratio quidem; nihil autem est molestum quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam affecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus veneriis, 'di meliora!' inquit; 'ego vero istinc sicut a domino agresti ac furioso profugi.' Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere, satiatis vero et expletis iucundius est carere quam frui; quamquam non caret is, qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non
48 desiderare dico esse iucundius. Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus, deinde eis, quibus senectus, etiam si non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima, sic adulescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus, procul eas
49 spectans, tantum quantum sat est. At illa quanti sunt, animum tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis ambitionis, contentionum inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium secum esse secumque, ut dicitur, vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studi atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius. Videbamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae Gallum familiarem

patris tui, Scipio. Quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit cum mane coepisset! Quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere! Quid in levioribus 50
studiis, sed tamen acutis? Quam gaudebat Bello suo Punico Naevius, quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium, qui, cum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licini Crassi et pontifici et civilis iuris studio loquar aut de huius P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est? Atque eos omnis, quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantis senes vidimus. M. vero Cethegum, quem recte suadae medullam dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae, quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem, qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse maior.

XV. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus 51
ego incredibiliter delector, quae nec ulla impediuntur senectute et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium nec umquam sine usura reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum faenore; quamquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat. Quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit,

primum id occaecatum cohibet, ex quo occatio quae hoc efficit nominata est; deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem, quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adolescit culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus muni-
52 tur vallo aristarum. Quid ego vitium ortus satus incrementa commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium quae generantur e terra, quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet; malleoli plantae sarmenta viviradices propagines nonne efficiunt ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem quae natura caduca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis quasi manibus quidquid est nacta complectitur, quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico, ferro amputans coercet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in
53 omnis partis nimia fundatur. Itaque ineunte vere in eis quae relicta sunt exsistit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva se ostendit, quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, dein maturata dulcescit vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis defendit ardores: qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius, tum aspectu pulchrius? Cuius quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat: adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea,

quam dixi, aliorum amputatio, aliorum immissio. Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior? Quid de 54
utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo libro, quem de rebus rusticis scripsi. De qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet. At Homerus, qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis fuit, Laerten lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis, tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agri cultura sollertius.

XVI. Possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum 55
rusticarum, sed ea ipsa quae dixi sentio fuisse longiora. Ignoscetis autem, nam et studio rerum rusticarum provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphavisset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis; cuius quidem ego villam contemplans, abest enim non longe a me, admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad 56
focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis qui haberent aurum imperare. Poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem? Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes, si quidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum, cuius dictatoris

iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum appetentem occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo qui eos arcessebant viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit, qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium, quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent, ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam iam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est, abundat porco haedo agno gallina, lacte caseo melle. Iam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervacaneis etiam
57 operis aucupium atque venatio. Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? Brevi praecidam. Agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius, ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque allectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni, aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salu-
58 brius? Sibi habeant igitur arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi venationes atque cursus; nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras; id ipsum ut lubebit, quoniam sine eis beata esse senectus potest.

59 XVII. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legite quaeso studiose, ut facitis. Quam

copiose ab eo agri cultura laudatur in eo libro, qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur! Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo Cyrum minorem Persarum regem, praestantem ingenio atque imperi gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus communem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et directos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum qui afflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse mirari se non modo diligentiam sed etiam sollertiam eius a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse 'atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus, mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio; multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum, intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse 'recte vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est!' Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus, nec aetas impedit 60
quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum esset acta iam aetate in agris eosque coleret, cuius inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita quantum spatium aetatis maiores ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque huius extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media, quod auctori-

tatis habebat plus, laboris minus; apex est autem senec-
61 tutis auctoritas. Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello, quanta in A. Atilio Calatino! In quem illud elogium:

hunc unum plurimae consentiunt gentes
populi primarium fuisse virum.

Notum est totum carmen incisum in sepulcro. Iure igitur gravis, cuius de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum, pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum eodem sacerdotio praeditum vidimus! Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar, aut, ut iam ante, de Maximo? Quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus, honorata praesertim, tantam auctoritatem, ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adulescentiae voluptates.

62 XVIII. Sed in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare, quae fundamentis adulescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur id, quod ego magno quondam cum assensu omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem quae se oratione defenderet. Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos.
63 Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari appeti decedi assurgi deduci reduci consuli, quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno

consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus, cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui, legati cum essent, certo in loco considerant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum recepisse; quibus cum 64
a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex eis quendam Atheniensis scire quae recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in nostro collegio praeclara, sed hoc, de quo agimus, in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet, neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed eis etiam, qui cum imperio sunt, maiores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? Quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ei mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse.

At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes. 65
Si quaerimus, etiam avari; sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia, quae dixi, habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem iustae, sed quae probari posse videatur: contemni se putant, despici, illudi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est; quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus, idque cum in vita tum in scaena intellegi potest ex eis fratribus qui in Adelphis sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet: ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis natura vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, sed eam, sicut alia, modicam; acerbitatem nullo modo; avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit, non intellego. Potest enim quicquam esse absurdius quam, quo viae 66
minus restet, eo plus viatici quaerere?

XIX. Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere at-

que sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, appropinquatio mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse longe. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate non viderit! Quae aut plane neglegenda est, si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit ubi sit futurus aeternus.
67 Atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest. Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem, aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo pluris quam nostra casus mortis habet: facilius in morbos incidunt adulescentes, gravius aegrotant, tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem; quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur. Mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est, qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates fuissent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei
68 videatis cum adulescentia esse commune? Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem. At sperat adulescens diu se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest. Insipienter sperat; quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? At senex ne quod speret quidem habet. At est eo meliore condicione quam adulescens, quoniam id quod ille sperat hic consecutus est: ille volt diu
69 vivere, hic diu vixit. Quamquam, o di boni, quid est in hominis natura diu? Da enim supremum tempus, exspectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem: fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnaverat annos, centum viginti vixerat.

Sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum; cum enim id advenit, tum illud, quod praeteriit, effluxit; tantum remanet, quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis. Horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur nec quid sequatur sciri potest. Quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus. Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda 70
fabula est, modo in quocunque fuerit actu probetur; neque sapientibus usque ad 'plaudite' veniendum est, breve enim tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum; sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est, quam agricolae dolent praeterita verni temporis suavitate aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adulescentia significat ostenditque fructus futuros; reliqua autem tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. Fructus 71
autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem, quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis; quid est autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? Quod idem contingit adulescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic, ut cum sua sponte, nulla adhibita vi, consumptus ignis exstinguitur, et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem mihi tam iucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus. XX. Senectutis autem nullus est certus termi- 72

nus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus offici exsequi et tueri possit mortemque contemnere, ex quo fit ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adulescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, cum illi quaerenti qua tandem re fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret respondisse dicitur 'senectute.' Sed vivendi est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae coagmentavit natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime quae conglutinavit natura dissolvit. Iam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avide appetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit;
73 vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. Solonis quidem sapientis est elogium, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Volt, credo, se esse carum suis. Sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

nemo me lacrumis decoret, neque funera fletu
faxit.

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam immortalitas
74 consequatur. Iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim seni: post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adulescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus; sine qua meditatione tranquillo animo esse nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est, et incertum an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis impen-
75 dentem timens qui poterit animo consistere? De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, cum re-

corder non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria est interfectus, non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atilium, qui ad supplicium est profectus ut fidem hosti datam conservaret, non duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt, non avum tuum L. Paulum, qui morte luit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem, non M. Marcellum, cuius interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se redituras numquam arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adulescentes, et ei quidem non solum indocti sed etiam rustici contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent? Omnino, ut 76
mihi quidem videtur, rerum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa: num igitur ea desiderant adulescentes? Sunt ineuntis adulescentiae: num ea constans iam requirit aetas, quae media dicitur? Sunt etiam eius aetatis: ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senectute. Sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis: ergo, ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis; quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis affert.

XXI. Non enim video, cur, quid ipse sentiam de 77
morte, non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, P. Scipio tuque, C. Laeli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos, vivere arbitror et eam quidem vitam, quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur; est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus

in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium. Sed credo deos immortalis sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas.

78 Audiebam Pythagoran Pythagoriosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea quae Socrates supremo vitae die de immortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis iudicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quae res eas contineat, esse mortalem; cumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus; et cum simplex animi natura esset neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi, quod si non posset, non posse interire; magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod iam pueri, cum artis difficilis discant, ita celeriter res innumerabilis arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari.

79 Haec Platonis fere. XXII. Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus maior haec dicit: 'nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim, dum eram vobiscum, animum

meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex eis rebus quas gerebam intellegebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiam si nullum videbitis. Nec vero clarorum 80
virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem numquam persuaderi potuit animos dum in corporibus essent mortalibus vivere, cum excessissent ex eis emori; nec vero tum animum esse insipientem cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset, sed cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam, cum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quaeque discedat, abeunt enim illuc omnia, unde orta sunt; animus autem solus nec cum adest nec cum discessit apparet. Iam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum. Atqui dormien- 81
tium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt; ex quo intellegitur quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint. Qua re, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote,' inquit, 'ut deum, sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen, deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis.'

XXIII. Cyrus quidem haec moriens; nos, si placet, 82
nostra videamus. Nemo umquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paulum, aut duos avos Paulum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patruum, aut multos praestantis viros, quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad ipsos pertinere. Anne censes, ut de me ipse aliquid more

senum glorier, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam quibus vitam essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam et quietam aetatem sine ullo labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet ut animi immortales essent, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime
83 ad immortalitatis gloriam niteretur. Quid quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo, nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci, ille autem, cuius obtusior sit acies, non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros quos colui et dilexi videndi, neque vero eos solum convenire aveo, quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam, de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi; quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quid facile retraxerit, nec tamquam Pelian recoxerit. Et si quis deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem, nec vero velim quasi
84 decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari. Quid habet enim vita commodi? Quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane; habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non libet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi et ei docti saepe fecerunt, neque me vixisse paenitet, quoniam ita vixi, ut non frustra me natum existimem, et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo; commorandi enim natura divorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit. O praeclarum diem cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar cumque ex hac turba et colluvione discedam! Proficis-

car enim non ad eos solum viros, de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior, cuius a me corpus est crematum, quod contra decuit ab illo meum, animus vero non me deserens sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar existimans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore.

His mihi rebus, Scipio, id enim te cum Laelio admi- 85
rari solere dixisti, levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam iucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum immortalis esse credam, libenter erro nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo; sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui irrideant. Quod si non sumus immortales futuri, tamen exstingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura, ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defetigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem, ad quam utinam veniatis, ut ea, quae ex me audistis, re experti probare possitis!

NOTES TO CATO MAIOR.

CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE (CATO THE ELDER ON OLD AGE). CATO MAIOR was probably intended by Cicero as the principal title. He twice gives the work this name, in Laelius 4 and Att. 14, 21, 1. In the former passage he adds the descriptive words, addressed to Atticus, *qui est scriptus ad te de senectute*. In a third notice, De Div. 2, 3, he gives the description without the title, *liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus*. It is likely that Cicero intended the essay to be known as the CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE, the full title corresponding with LAELIUS DE AMICITIA. The word *maior* was necessary to distinguish the book from Cicero's eulogy of the younger Cato (Uticensis), which seems to have gone by the name of CATO simply.

P. 1.—1. O Tite etc.: the lines are a quotation from the *Annales* of Q. Ennius (born at Rudiae in Calabria 239 B. C., died 169), an epic poem in hexameter verse, the first great Latin poem in that metre, celebrating the achievements of the Roman nation from the time of Aeneas to the poet's own days. The incident alluded to in Ennius' verses is evidently the same as that narrated by Livy 32, cc. 9, 10. Titus Quinctius Flamininus, who commanded in 198 B. C. the Roman army opposed to Philip of Macedon, found the king strongly posted on the mountains between Epirus and Thessaly. For forty days Flamininus lingered, hoping to find some path which would give him access to the enemy's quarters. A shepherd who knew every nook of the mountains came before the general, and promised to lead the Roman soldiers to the ground above Philip's camp. This was done, and

Flamininus drove the Macedonians into Thessaly. It is the shepherd who in the first line addresses Flamininus by his first name Titus. Cicero here cleverly applies the lines to his life-long friend Titus Pomponius Atticus. He several times takes the two words '*O Tite*' to designate the whole treatise; cf. Att. 16, 11, 3 '*O Tite' tibi prodesse laetor.* —— **quid**: accusative of respect or extent; so *nihil* in 30, *aliquid* in 82. A.* 240, *a*; G. 331, 3; H. 378, 2. —— **adiŭero**: for *adiūvero*, the long vowel having become short after the falling out of the *v* between the two vowels. Catullus 66, 18 has *iŭerint* at the end of a pentameter verse, and the same scanning is found in Plautus and Terence. A. 128, *a*; G. 151, 1; H. 235. —— **levasso**: a form of *levavero*, which was originally *levaveso*. For the formation of this class of future-perfects see Peile, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology*, p. 295, ed. 3; also Roby, *Gram.* 1, p. 199, who has a list of examples; he supports a different view from that given above; cf. A. 128, *e*, 3; G. 191, 5; H. 240, 4. —— **coquit**: 'vexes.' This metaphorical use of *coquere* occurs in poetry and late prose; cf. Plaut. Trin. 225 *egomet me coquo et macero et defetigo*; Verg. Aen. 7, 345 *quam . . . femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant*; Quint. 12, 10, 77 *sollicitudo oratorem macerat et coquit.* —— **versāt**: we have here the original quantity of the vowel preserved, as in *ponebāt* below, 10; the *a* in *versat* was originally as long as the *a* in *versās*. Plautus has some parallels to this scanning (see Corssen, Aussprache 11^2, 488), but it is rarely imitated by poets of the best period. Horace, however, has *arāt*, Odes 3, 16, 26. A. 375, *g*, 5; H. 580, III. n. 2. —— **praemi**: the genitive in *-i* from nouns in *-ium* only began to come into use at the end of the Republic. A. 40, *b*; G. 29, Rem. 1; H. 51, 5. —— **isdem**: Cicero may have written *isdem* or *eisdem* (two syllables), but he probably did not write the form most commonly found in our texts, *iisdem*. H. p. 74, foot-note 2. —— **Flamininum**: T. Quinctius Flamīnus first served against Hannibal during the Second Punic War. He was present at the capture of Tarentum in 209 B. C., and in 208 was military tribune under Marcellus. After being employed on minor business of state, he became quaestor in 199, and, immediately after his year of office, consul, passing over the aedileship and praetorship, and attaining the consulship at the extraordinarily early age of 30. In 197 he won the

* A. = Allen and Greenough's Grammar, Revised Ed.; G. = Gildersleeve's Grammar; H. = Harkness's Grammar, Rev. Ed. of 1881. In quoting from the works of Cicero reference is made to sections, not to chapters.

great victory of Cynoscephalae over the Macedonians, which ended the war. At the Isthmian games in the spring of 196 Flamininus made his famous proclamation of freedom to all the Greeks. He returned to Rome in 194 to enjoy a splendid triumph. For the rest of his life he was employed chiefly on diplomatic business concerning Greece and the East. One of his embassies was to Prusias, king of Bithynia, to call on him to surrender Hannibal, who was living at his court in advanced old age; this led to Hannibal's suicide. Flamininus was censor in 189 (see below, 42), and lived on till some time after 167, in which year he became augur; but the date of his death is unknown. He was a man of brilliant ability both as general and as diplomat, and also possessed much culture and was a great admirer of Greek literature. —— **ille vir** etc.: *i. e.* the shepherd mentioned in n. on line 1. Livy 32, 11, 4 says that Flamininus sent to the master of the shepherd, Charopus, an Epirote prince, to ask how far he might be trusted. Charopus replied that Flamininus might trust him, but had better keep a close watch on the operations himself. —— **haud magna cum re**: 'of no great property'; *re* = *re familiari*, as is often the case elsewhere in both verse and prose. Cf. pro Caelio 78 *hominem sine re*. *Cum* is literally 'attended by'; it is almost superfluous here, since *vir haud magna re* would have had just the same meaning. Madvig, Gram. § 258 has similar examples. —— **plenus**: final *s* was so lightly pronounced that the older poets felt justified in neglecting it in their scanning. It was probably scarcely pronounced at all by the less educated Romans, since it is often wholly omitted in inscriptions, and has been lost in modern Italian. Cicero, Orator 161, says that the neglect to pronounce final *s* is 'somewhat boorish' (*subrusticum*), though formerly thought 'very refined' (*politius*). Even Lucretius sometimes disregards it in his scanning. In the ordinary literary Latin a large number of words has lost an original *s*; *e. g.* all the nouns of the *-a* declension. A. 375, *a*; G. 722; H. 608, 1, n. 3. —— **fidēi**: this form of the genitive of *fides* is found also in Plautus, Aulularia 575, and Lucretius 5, 102. *Fidĕi* as genitive seems only to occur in late poets, but as dative it is found in a fragment of Ennius. *Fidē* as genitive occurs in Horace and Ovid. H. 585, III. 1; Roby, 357, (*c*). —— **quamquam**: see n. on 2 *etsi*. —— **sollicitari** etc.: Cicero probably has not quoted the line as Ennius wrote it. The word *sic*, at least, is evidently inserted on purpose to correspond with *ut* before *Flamininum*. —— **noctesque diesque**: the use of *que*...*que* for *et*...*et* is

almost entirely poetical, Sallust being the only prose writer of the best period in whose works the usage is beyond doubt. *Noctes* is put before *dies* here, as in *noctes diesque* (Verr. 5, 112), *noctes et dies* (Brut. 308 *etc.*), *noctes ac dies* (Arch. 29); cf. also Verg. Aen. 6, 127; and *νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ* in Iliad 5, 490; but the collocations *dies noctesque*, *dies et noctes* are far commoner in Cicero. Madvig (Emend. Liv. p. 487 n., ed. 2) says that in writers of Livy's time and earlier, when an action is mentioned which continues throughout a number of days and nights, either *dies et noctes* and the like phrases are used, or *die et nocte* and the like; but not *diem noctemque* or *diem et noctem*, which expression, he says, would imply that the action continued only throughout *one* day and *one* night. But Madvig has overlooked De Or. 2, 162 *eandem incudem diem noctemque tundentibus;* also three passages of Caesar: viz. Bell. Gall. 7, 42, 6 and 7, 77, 11; Bell. Civ. 1, 62, 1; to which add a passage in the Bell. Hisp. 38. Though *diem noctemque* does often mean 'throughout *one* day and *one* night' (as *e. g.* in Nep. Them. 8, 7), yet it would seem that the other sense cannot be excluded. —— **moderationem ... aequitatem**: 'the self-control and even balance of your mind'. *Moderatio* is in Cic. a common translation of *σωφροσύνη*. *Aequitas* is not used here in its commonest sense of 'reasonableness' or 'equity', but as the noun corresponding to *aequus* in the ordinary phrase *aequus animus* (Horace, '*aequam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem*'); cf. Tusc. 1, 97 *hanc maximi animi aequitatem in ipsa morte*, said of Theramenes' undisturbed composure before his execution. —— animi tui: for the position of these words between *moderationem* and *aequitatem*, to both of which nouns they refer (a form of speech called by the Latin grammarians *coniunctio*), see note on Laelius 8 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi*. —— **cognomen**: *i. e.* the name *Atticus*, which Cicero's friend did not inherit, but adopted. For the word *cognomen* cf. n. on 5. —— **deportasse**: it should be noted that the verb *deportare* is nearly always in the best writers used of bringing things from the provinces to Italy or Rome, and not *vice versa*, the Romans using 'down' (*de*) of motion towards the capital. *Italia deportare* occurs in Tacitus and late writers, but only in the sense of banishing a person (cf. Ann. 14, 45). So *decedere de provincia* is common, but not *Roma decedere*. As to the form *deportasse*, it may be remarked that Cic. in the vast majority of instances uses the contracted and not the full forms of the infinitives corresponding to perfects in *-avi*. So *putassent* in 4. An extensive collection of examples

of this and similar contractions may be found in Frohwein, Die Perfectbildungen auf -vi bei Cicero; Gera, 1874. —— **humanitatem**: 'culture'; *i. e.* learning resulting in gentleness and refinement of character. —— **prudentiam**: *φρόνησιν* or practical wisdom. Corn. Nepos (or his imitator) in his life of Atticus 17, 3 says of him *principum philosophorum ita percepta habuit praecepta ut his ad vitam agendam non ad ostentationem uteretur.* —— **isdem rebus**: *i. e.* the state of public affairs at the time; see Introd. —— **quibus me ipsum**: strictly speaking the construction is inaccurate, since *suspicor commoveri* must be supplied, and Cicero does not really mean to say that he merely *conjectures* himself to be seriously affected by the state of public affairs; *ego ipse commoveor* would have accurately expressed his meaning. The accusative is due to the attraction of *te* above. —— **maior** = *difficilior* as often; *e. g.* Lael. 29 *quod maius est.* —— **visum est mihi conscribere**: = *placuit mihi*, 'I have determined to write'. The best writers rarely use the impersonal *videtur etc.* followed by an infinitive. When the usage occurs *videtur mihi etc.* generally have the meaning (as here) of *δοκεῖ μοι κ. τ. λ.* = 'I have made up my mind'. Cf. Tusc. 5, 12 *Non mihi videtur ad beate vivendum satis posse virtutem;* ib. 5, 22 (a curious passage) *mihi enim non videbatur quisquam esse beatus posse cum esset in malis; in malis autem sapientem esse posse;* Off. 3, 71 *malitia quae volt illa quidem videri se esse prudentiam* ('craft which desires that people should believe it to be wisdom'); Liv. 1, 10, 7 *dis visum nec irritam conditoris templi vocem esse...* ('the gods decided that the word of the founder of the shrine should not remain of no effect'). It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a passage in a writer before silver Latin times where the best texts still exhibit anything like *videtur eum facere* for *is videtur facere.* H. 534, 1, n. 1; Roby, 1353. —— **aliquid ad te**: 'some work dedicated to you'; so below, 3; cf. also Lael. 4 *ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid;* ib. *Catone maiore qui est scriptus ad te de senectute;* Div. 2, 3 *liber is quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus.*

2. aut ... aut certe: so often in Cic.; *certe*, 'at any rate'. —— **senectutis**: at the time the words were written Cic. was 62 years old, Atticus three years older. For the meaning of *senectus* see n. on 4. —— **levari volo**: the best Latin writers frequently use the passive infinitive after verbs expressing desire, where moderns would incline to the active; here Cic. instead of saying 'I wish to relieve yourself

and me of the burden' says 'I wish yourself and me to be relieved'. —— **etsi**: = καίτοι 'and yet'. This use of *etsi* to introduce a clause correcting the preceding clause, though not uncommon (*e. g.* below 29; Tusc. 1, 99; 3, 17; 4, 63; 5, 55), is far less common than that of *quamquam*, which we have in 1, 9, 10, 24, 47, 67, 69. —— **te quidem**: 'you at all events', 'you for one'. —— **modice ac sapienter**: *modice* recalls *moderationem* above (*modice* and *moderate* are used with exactly the same sense by Cic.), while *sapienter* recalls *aequitatem*, since *sapientia* produces stability and an even balance of the mind. In De Or. 1, 132 we have *modice et scienter*. —— **sicut omnia**: cf. Fin. 1, 7 *facete is quidem sicut alia*: also below, 65 *sicut alia*. —— **et ferre et laturum esse**: Tischer rightly remarks that when a verb is repeated thus with a variation of tense Cic. very nearly always uses *et*... *et*, and not a single *et* merely. The contrast between the two tenses is thus made more pointed. Cf. 3 *et diximus et dicemus*. —— **certo scio**: one of the best MSS., followed by some editors, has here *certe scio*. The latter phrase would mean 'I am sure that I know' (a sense which seems out of place here); the former 'I have certain or sure knowledge'. Observe that *certe* may be used with all verbs, while *certo* is only used with *scire*. A. 151, *c*. —— **sed**: the idea implied is, 'but though I well know you do not need such consolation, I have yet resolved to address my book to you'. —— **occurrebas dignus**: a condensed construction for *occurrebat te dignum esse*.

P. 2. — **munere**... **uteretur**: 'a gift such as we both might make use of in company'. —— **mihi quidem**: this forms a correction upon *uterque nostrum* above: 'whatever you may think of the work, *I at least* have found the writing of it pleasant'. —— **confectio**: 'composition'; 'completion'; a word scarcely found in the classical Latin except in Cicero's writings. Cf. De Or. 2, 52 *annalium confectio*: pro. Font. 3 *confectio tabularum* ('account-books'). —— **fuit ut absterserit**: the sequence of tenses *fuit ut abstergeret* would have been equally admissible, but the meaning would have been slightly different. With the perfect the sense is 'was so pleasant that it *has* wiped away'; with the imperfect 'was so pleasant that it *did* (while I was writing) wipe away'. The metaphor in *absterserit* is common: *e. g.* Tusc. 3, 43 *luctum omnem absterseris*. With this statement of Cicero's concerning the effect the work had on himself contrast Att. 14, 21, 3 *legendus mihi saepius est Cato maior ad te missus. Amariorem enim me senectus facit. Stomachor omnia*. —— **omnis**: acc.

pl. A. 55, *c*; G. 60, 1; H. 67. —— **effecerit mollem**: so 56 *poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem;* but 56 *conditiora facit haec aucupium. Efficio* gives more emphatically than *facio* the idea of the completion of the action. Cf. Lael. 73 *efficere aliquem consulem*, 'to carry through a man's election as consul'; *facere aliquem consulem* being merely 'to vote for a man's election to the consulship'. —— **satis digne**: 'as she deserves', lit. 'in a sufficiently worthy manner'. Some editors have thought *digne* superfluous and wished to cast it out, but we have *satis digne* elsewhere, as in Verr. Act. II. 1, 82; cf. also Sex. Rosc. 33 *pro dignitate laudare satis commode.* —— **qui pareat ... degere**: a conditional sentence of irregular form (*qui* = *siquis; cui*, simply connective, = *et ei*). Cf. Div. 1, 127 *qui enim teneat causas rerum futurarum, idem necesse est omnia teneat quae futura sint;* also the examples in Roby's Grammar, 1558. A. 310, *a*, 307, *b*; G. 594, 1, 598; H. 507, II. and III. 2. Some, however, make *possit* a subjunctive of characteristic or of cause with *cui*, and *pareat* a subjunctive by attraction. —— **omne tempus aetatis**: 'every season of life'; so in 55 *extremum tempus aetatis;* 70 *breve tempus aetatis.* The opposite phrase *aetas temporis* is very rare; it occurs in Propertius 1, 4, 7.

3. ceteris: neuter adjective used as a noun, equivalent to *ceteris rebus* 'the other matters'; *i. e.* the political troubles hinted at above. The best writers do not often use the neuter adjective as noun in the *oblique* cases unless there is something in the context to show the gender clearly, as in 24 *aliis ... eis quae;* we have, however, below in 8, *isto* = *ista re;* 72, *reliquum;* 77, *caelestium* = *rerum caelestium;* and in 78, *praeteritorum futurorumque;* see other instances in n. on Lael. 50 *similium.* The proleptic or anticipatory use of *ceteris* should also be noticed; its sense is not fully seen till we come to *hunc librum;* the same use occurs below in 4, 5, 59, 60; so *aliis* in 24; cf. also n. on Lael. 7 *reliqua.* —— **diximus ... dicemus**: when a clause or phrase consists of four parts, which go in pairs (as here *diximus, dicemus* on one side, and *multa, saepe* on the other), the Latins frequently arrange the words so as to put one pair between the two members of the other pair, as here. This usage is called by grammarians *chiasmus.* Thus if we denote the four parts by *AA'*, *BB'*, *chiasmus* requires the order *ABB'A'* or *BAA'B'*. See examples in 8, 20, 22, 38, 44, 71. For the more complicated forms of chiasmus consult Nägelsbach, Stil. §§ 167, 169. A. 344, *f*; G. 684; H. 562. —— **librum ... misimus**: observe the omission of a particle at the begin-

ning of the clause; the contrast between *ceteris* and *hunc librum* is made stronger by the omission. For this *asyndeton adversativum* see n. on Lael. 5 *Laelium ... putes*. For tense of *misimus*, 'I send', see A. 282; G. 244; H. 472, 1. —— **omnem**: see n. on 62. —— **tribuimus**: perfect tense like *misimus*. —— **Tithono ... Aristo**: see Introd. —— **Cius**: Greek Κεῖος (a native of Ceos), not to be confused with Χῖος (a native of Chios), or Κῶος (a native of Cos). Cicero generally denotes the Greek diphthong ει by ī not ĕ. This Aristo was a Peripatetic. —— **parum ... auctoritatis**: observe how often Cicero takes trouble to separate words which are, grammatically, closely connected. So above, *omnis ... molestias;* 7 *multorum ... senectutem;* 9 *mirificos ... fructus;* 21 *civium ... nomina;* 33 *minus ... virium;* 53 *multo ... fecundior;* etc. etc. See also n. on 15 *quam sit iusta*. A. 344, *c, d, e*; H. 561, III. —— **esset**: condition omitted. A. 311; G. 602; H. 510. —— **maiorem auctoritatem**: cf. Lael. 4. —— **apud quem**: 'at whose house'; so 55 *a me*, 'from my house'. A. 153; G. 417; H. 446, n. 4. —— **Laelium ... Scipionem**: see Introd. —— **facimus admirantis**: 'we represent as expressing astonishment'. For *facere*, in this sense, Cic. more often uses *inducere* 'to bring on the stage', as in Lael. 4 *Catonem induxi senem disputantem*. Cf. however 54 *Homerus Laerten colentem agrum facit;* also Brut. 218; Orat. 85. Instead of *facimus* we might have expected either *fecimus* to correspond with *misimus* and *tribuimus* above, or *faciemus* to correspond with *videbitur* below. On the use of the participle see A. 292, *c*; G. 536; H. 535, I. 4. —— **eruditius disputare**: Cic. not infrequently in his dialogues makes people talk with more learning than they really possessed. He several times confesses this as regards Lucullus and Catulus in the Academica, and as regards Antonius in the De Oratore. —— **ferat**: subjunctive because embodying the sentiment of Laelius and Scipio. Roby, 1744; Madvig, 357; H. 516, II. —— **suis libris** etc.: for the allusions here to Cato's life, works, and opinions see Introd. —— **quid opus est plura?** *sc. dicere:* cf. the elliptic phrases *quid multa? sc. dicam* in 78; also below, 10 *praeclare*. A. 206, *c*; H. 368, 3, n. 2.

4. saepe numero soleo: 'it is my frequent custom'. *Numero* is literally 'by the count or reckoning', and in *saepe numero* had originally the same force as in *quadraginta numero* and the like; but the phrase came to be used merely as a slight strengthening of *saepe*. —— **cum hoc ... cum ceterarum**: the use of *cum* in different senses in the same clause, which seems awkward, is not uncommon; cf. below, 67.

The spelling *quum* was certainly not used by Cicero, and probably by no other Latin writer of the best period. H. 311, foot-note 4. It is worth remarking that *cum* the conjunction and *cum* the preposition, though spelt alike, are by origin quite distinct. The former is derived from the pronominal stem *ka* or *kva*, and is cognate with *qui;* the latter comes from the root *sak* 'to follow', and is cognate with Gk. *σύν*, Lat. *sequor*, etc. See Vaniček, Etymologisches Wörterbuch, pp. 96, 984. —— **rerum ... sapientiam**: 'wisdom *in* affairs'; the objective genitive. —— **excellentem**: in sense much stronger than our 'excellent'; *excellentem perfectamque* 'pre-eminent and indeed faultless'. —— **quod ... senserim**: this clause takes the place of an object to *admirari*. The subjunctive is used because the speaker reports his own reason for the wonder, formerly felt, as if according to the views of another person, and without affirming his holding the same view at the time of speaking. Madvig, 357, *a*, Obs. 1. A. 341, *d*, Rem. —— **odiosa**: this word is not so strong as our 'hateful', but rather means 'wearisome', 'annoying'. In Plautus the frequent expression *odiosus es* means, in colloquial English, 'you bore me'. Cf. 47 *odiosum et molestum;* 65 *odiosa offensio.* —— **onus Aetna gravius**: a proverbial expression with an allusion to Enceladus, who, after the defeat of the Giants by Juppiter, was said to have been imprisoned under Mt. Aetna. Cf. Eurip. Hercules Furens, 637; also Longfellow's poem, Enceladus. —— **haud sane difficilem**: 'surely far from difficult'; cf. 83 *haud sane facile.* —— **quibus**: a *dativus commodi*, 'those for whom there is no aid in themselves'. Cf. Lael. 79 *quibus in ipsis.* —— **bene beateque vivendum**: 'a virtuous and happy life'; 'virtue and happiness'; so *bene honesteque* below, 70. —— **qui ... petunt**: these are the *αὐτάρκεις*, men sufficient for themselves, '*in se toti teretes atque rotundi*'. We have here a reminiscence of the Stoic doctrine about the wise man, whose happiness is quite independent of everything outside himself, and is caused solely by his own virtue. Cicero represents the same Stoic theory in Lael. 7. Cf. Juv. Sat. 10, 357–362; also Seneca, De Cons. Sap. VIII., De Prov. I. 5. —— **a se ipsi**: 'themselves from themselves,' so in 78 *se ipse moveat ... se ipse relicturus sit;* 84 *me ipse consolabar.* Expressions like *a se ipsis* are quite uncommon in Cicero. Cf. n. on Lael. 5 *te ipse cognosces;* also see below, 38 *se ipsa;* 78 *se ipse.* —— **naturae necessitas**: 'the inevitable conditions of nature'. Cf. 71 *quid est tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori?* —— **afferat**: subjunctive because *nihil quod = nihil tale ut* A. 320.

a; G. 633, 634; H. 503, I. —— **quo in genere**: *sc. rerum;* with this phrase the defining genitive is commonly omitted by Cicero. So below, 45 *in eo genere.* —— **ut . . . adeptam**: notice the chiasmus. —— **eandem**: *idem* is used in the same way, to mark an emphatic contrast, in 24, 52, 68, 71. —— **adeptam**: this is probably the only example in Cicero of the passive use of *adeptus*, which occurs in Sallust, Ovid, Tacitus, etc.; and in this passage the use cannot be looked on as certain, since one of the very best and several of the inferior MSS. read *adepti*. Cicero, however, uses a good many deponent participles in a passive sense (cf. below, 59 *dimensa;* 74 *meditatum;* see also a list, Roby, 734), and some of them occur very rarely. Thus *periclitatus*, *arbitratus*, *depastus* as passives are found each in only one passage. —— **inconstantia**: 'instability', 'inconsistency'. *Constantia*, unwavering firmness and consistency, is the characteristic of the wise man; cf. Acad. 2, 23 *sapientia . . . quae ex sese habeat constantiam;* also Lael. 8 and 64.

P. 3. — **aiunt**: *sc. stulti.* —— **putassent**: the subjunctive is due to the indirect discourse. Where we say 'I should not have thought,' the Latins say, in direct narration, '*non putaram*,' *i. e.* 'I never had thought' (so Off. 1, 81 and often in Cicero's letters). Translate, 'more quickly than they had ever expected'. Cf. Att. 6, 1, 6 *accipiam equidem dolorem mihi illum irasci sed multo maiorem non esse eum talem qualem putassem.* See Zumpt, Gram., 518. —— **falsum putare**: 'to form a mistaken judgment'. For *falsum* as noun equivalent to ψεῦδος, cf. 6, *gratissimum;* also n. on 3 *ceteris.* —— **qui citius**: lit. 'in what way quicker'; cf. Tusc. 5, 89 *qui melius.* H. 188, II. 2. —— **adulescentia . . . senectus . . . pueritia**: boyhood was generally at Rome supposed to last till the 17th year (the time for assuming the *toga virilis* and for beginning military service). *Iuventus* is usually the age from 17 to 45, during which men were liable to be called on for active service. Ordinarily, in colloquial language, *adulescentia* is the earlier portion of *iuventus*, say the years from 17 to 30 (cf. 33), but Cicero seems here to make *adulescentia* co-extensive with *iuventus*. From 45 to 60 is the *aetas seniorum*, the period during which citizens in early Rome might be called out for the defence of the city, but not for active service. *Senectus* was commonly reckoned as beginning at 60; but in § 60 Cicero includes in *senectus* the *aetas seniorum*, and probably intended to include it here. In Tusc. 1, 34 Cic. reckons three ages *pueritia adulescentia senectus* as here; below in 74, four periods, or five.

—— **quamvis**: = *quantumvis*. —— **effluxisset**: subjunctive because of the mood of *posset*, to which it stands in subordinate relation. *Cum* here is purely temporal. See Roby, 1778; A. 342; G. 666; H. 529, II. —— **posset**: see n. on *esset* above, 3.

5. si ... soletis ... sumus: the apodosis and protasis do not strictly correspond; the sense really required is 'if that wisdom for which you admire me does exist, it lies in this', etc. —— **utinam ... esset**: *esset* here gives a greater appearance of modesty than would have been expressed by *sit*: 'would it were, as it certainly is not'. A. 267; G. 253; H. 483, 2. —— **cognomine**: Cato bore the title *sapiens* even in his lifetime; see Introd. *Cognomen* is used in good Latin to denote both the family name and the acquired by-name; in late Latin this latter is denoted by *agnomen*. —— **in hoc sapientes**: but above, 4 *rerum sapientiam*, not *in rebus*. The genitive construction is not found with *sapiens* used as noun or adjective till late Latin times. —— **naturam ducem** etc.: Cato's claim to the title of *sapiens* does not rest on any deep knowledge of philosophy, but on practical wisdom or common sense and experience in affairs. Cf. Lael. 6 and 19. In this passage Cicero has put into Cato's mouth phrases borrowed from the Stoic philosophy, which declared the life of virtue to be life in accordance with nature (*naturae convenienter vivere* or ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν). Cf. 71, n. on *secundum naturam*. —— **tamquam deum**: observe *deum* not *deam*, because nature is compared with, and not identified with, a divine being. Cf. Fin. 5, 43 *eum* (*rationem*) *quasi deum ducem subsequens*. —— **aetatis**: here = *vitae*, life as a whole. Cf. 2 *omne tempus aetatis* and n.; also 13 *aetatis ... senectus*; 33, 64, 82. —— **descriptae**: 'composed'; literally 'written out'. The reading *discriptae*, which many editions give, does not so well suit the passage. *Discribere* is to map out, plan, arrange, put in order (see 59 *discripta* and *discriptio*); the point here lies, however, not in the due arrangement of the different scenes of a play, but in the careful working out of each scene. *Ab ea* must be supplied after *descriptae* from *a qua* above. —— **actum**: the common comparison of life with a drama is also found in 64, 70, 85. —— **inerti**: the sense of 'ignorant', 'inartistic' (*in, ars*), has been given to this by some editors (cf. Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 126 *praetulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri*, and Cic. Fin. 2, 115 *artes, quibus qui carebant, inertes a maioribus nominabantur*), but the meaning 'inactive', 'lazy', 'slovenly' seems to suit *neglectum* better. —— **poeta**: nature is here the dramatist, the drama is life, the

actors are human beings. —— **sed tamen** etc.: 'but for all that it was inevitable that there should be something with the nature of an end.' So 69 *in quo est aliquid extremum;* 43 *aliquid pulchrum.* —— **arborum bacis**: the word *baca* (the spelling *bacca* has little or no authority) is applied to all fruits growing on bushes or trees; cf. Tusc. 1, 31 *arbores seret diligens agricola, quarum aspiciet bacam ipse numquam.* —— **terraeque fructibus**: here = cereals, roots, vegetables, and small fruits. No sharp distinction can be drawn between *fruges* and *fructus* (*e. g.* in Div. 1, 116 we have *fruges terrae bacasve arborum*), though *fructus* as commonly used is the more general word of the two. —— **maturitate ... caducum**: 'a time of senility, so to speak, and readiness to drop, that comes of a seasonable ripeness'. *Vietus* is literally 'twisted' or 'bent', being originally the passive participle of *viere*. The comparison of old age with the ripeness of fruit recurs in 71. Cf. Plin. Ep. 5, 14, 5 *non tam aetatis maturitate quam vitae.* —— **ferundum**: the form in *-undus* is archaic, and generally used by Cic. in quoting or imitating passages of laws, sacred formulae, and the like. H. 239. —— **molliter**: here 'gently', 'with resignation'; though *molliter ferre* often has another meaning, viz. to bear pain or trouble in an *unmanly* fashion. Cf. *facillime ferre* below. —— **quid est aliud** etc.: The words perhaps imply the rationalistic explanation of myths which the Greeks had begun to teach to the Romans during Cato's lifetime. Trans. 'what else but resistance to nature is equivalent to warring against the gods', and *not* 'what else does warring with the gods mean but to resist nature'. In comparisons of this sort the Latins generally put the things compared in a different order from that required by English idiom. Thus in Div. 2, 78 *quid est aliud nolle moneri a Iove nisi efficere ut aut ne fieri possit auspicium aut, si fiat, videri;* S. Rosc. 54 *quid est aliud iudicio ac legibus ac maiestate vestra abuti ad quaestum ac libidinem, nisi hoc modo accusare;* Phil. 1, 22; 2, 7; 5, 5; 10, 5. —— **Gigantum modo**: see n. on 4 *Aetna gravius.* —— **dis**: for the form *dis* see n. on 25.

6. atqui: in the best Latin *atqui* does not introduce a statement *contradicting* the preceding statement, but one that *supplements* it. Here it may be translated 'True, but'. Cf. 66, 81. —— **gratissimum**: equivalent to *rem gratissimam*. With the thought cf. Rep. 1, 34 *gratum feceris si explicaris;* Lael. 16 *pergratum feceris si disputaris.* —— **ut ... pollicear**: so Acad. 1, 33 *nos vero volumus, ut pro Attico respondeam;* Brut. 122 *nobis vero placet, ut pro Bruto etiam re*

spondeam ; Lael. 32 *tu vero perge ; pro hoc enim respondeo.* A. 317, *c* ; H. 499, 2, n. —— **senes fieri** : if the infinitive had depended on *speramus* alone and *volumus* had not intervened, Cicero would probably have written *nos futuros esse senes.* —— **multo ante** : *sc. quam id factum erit :* so Balb. 41 *re denique multo ante* (*sc. quam factum est*) *audita*, and very often in Cicero. —— **didicerimus** : as this corresponds with *feceris*, it would have been formally correct to write here *nos docueris.* —— **quibus . . . possimus** : 'what considerations will enable us most easily to support the growing burden of age'. —— **futurum est** = μέλλει εἶναι : this form of the future is used in preference to the simple *erit* because it is desired to represent the event as *on the very point of fulfilment*, and therefore sure of fulfilment. *Erit* would have implied much less certainty. Trans. 'I will do so, if my action *is going to give* you pleasure'. Cf. 67 *beatus futurus sum ;* also 81, 85. See Roby, 1494. —— **nisi molestum est** : a common expression of courtesy, like 15 *nisi alienum putas, si placet ;* cf. Hor. Sat. 2, 8, 4 *si grave non est.* —— **tamquam longam viam** : Cicero here puts into Laelius' mouth almost the very words addressed by Socrates to the aged Cephalus in the introduction to Plato's Republic, 328 E. Observe the succession of similar sounds in *tamquam*, aliquam, longam, viam. —— **viam confeceris** : so pro Quint. 79 *conficere* DCC *milia passuum ; conficere iter* is a common phrase. For mood see A. 312 ; G. 604 ; H. 513, II. —— **quam . . . ingrediundum sit** : this construction, the neuter of the gerundive with *est* followed by an accusative case, is exceedingly rare excepting in two writers, Lucretius and Varro. See the full list of examples given by Roby, Gram., Pref. to vol. 2, p. LXXII. A. 294, *c* ; H. 371, I. 2, 2), n. The best texts of Cicero now give only one example of a construction at all resembling this, viz. pro Scauro 13 *obliviscendum vobis putatis matrum in liberos, virorum in uxores scelera ?* The supposition of some scholars, that in this passage Cic. used the construction in imitation of the archaic style of Cato, is not likely to be true, seeing that in Cato's extant works the construction does not once occur. For the form *-undum* see n. on 5 *ferundum.* —— **istuc** : not adverb, but neuter pronoun, as in 8. The kind of construction, *istuc videre quale sit* for *videre quale istuc sit*, is especially common in Cicero.

7. faciam ut potero : 'I will do it as well as I can'. Observe the future *potero* where English idiom would require a present. So Rep. 1, 38 *hic Scipio, faciam quod voltis, ut potero.* —— **saepe enim** :

enim introduces a reason, not for the words *ut potero*, but for *faciam*: — 'I will grant your request because I have often heard complaints about old age and therefore have thought of the matter'. — **pares autem** etc.: parenthetical. — **vetere proverbio**: the saying is as old as Homer, Od. 17, 218 *ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον*; cf. also Plat., Rep. 329 A, Symp. 195 B, Phaedr. 240 C.

P. 4. — **facillime**: 'most cheerfully', 'most eagerly'; a common meaning of the word in Cic., *e. g.* Fam. 2, 16, 2 *in maritimis facillime sum, i. e.* 'I find most pleasure in staying by the sea'. — **quae**: a kind of explanation of *querellis*: — 'lamentations, viz. such utterances as' etc.; see n. on Lael. 14 *quae*; cf. Fam. 2, 8, 2 *sermonibus de re publica.... quae nec possunt scribi nec scribenda sunt.* A. 199, *b*; G. 616, 3, I.; H. 445, 5. — **C. Salinator**: probably C. Livius Salinator, praetor in 191 B. C. (Livy 35, 24), who was entrusted with the equipment of the Roman fleets during the war against Antiochus. He was born about 230, and was therefore a little younger than Cato; cf. *fere aequales* below. Salinator was consul in 188, and died in 170. For the name Salinator cf. n. on 11. — **Sp. Albinus**: Sp. Postumius Albinus was consul in 186, and was with his colleague appointed to investigate the great Bacchanalian conspiracy of that year (Livy 39, cc. 1 seq.). Albinus died in 180. He was probably a little younger than Salinator. He can scarcely have been fifty years of age at his death. — **tum ... tum**: 'now ... again'; so in 45. — **carerent**: see n. on 3 *ferat*. — **vitam nullam putarent**: 'they considered life to be not life at all'. For *vitam nullam* cf. Lael. 86 *sine amicitia vitam esse nullam*; also the Greek phrase *βίος ἀβίωτος*; and below, 77 *vitam quae est sola vita nominanda*; also 82. A. 239; H. 373, 1, n. 2. *Putarent* = 'thought, as they said'. — **id quod esset accusandum**: the subjunctive *esset* is used because a *class* of things is referred to, 'nothing of a nature to deserve complaint'; *id quod erat*, etc. would have meant merely 'that one thing which was matter for complaint'. A. 320; G. 634, Rem. 1; H. 503, I. — **usu venirent**: the phrase *usu venire* differs very little in meaning from *accidere*. *Usu* is commonly explained as an ablative ('in practice', 'in experience'), but is quite as likely to be a dative of the sort generally called predicative ('to come as matter of experience'); cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 22 *venire excidio*; Plin. N. H. 28, 106 *odio*; Caes. B. G. 5, 27 *subsidio*. — **quorum ... multorum**: the first genitive is dependent on the second, so that *quorum* = *e quibus*. Notice the separation of *quorum* from

multorum, and of *multorum* from *senectutem*. —— **sine querella**: attribute of *senectutem*. A. 217, Rem.; H. 359, n. 1, 4), and n. 3. This form of attributive phrase, consisting of a preposition with a noun, is common; cf. 24 *ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos*; 40 *cum hostibus clandestina colloquia*. *Querella* is better spelling than *querela*. See Roby, 177, 2. —— **qui**: 'men of such nature as to...' —— **et...nec**: Roby, 2241. The reason for the departure from the ordinary sequence of particles lies in the words *non moleste*. *Nec...et* is common; see 51, 53. —— **libidinum vinculis** etc.: Cic. is here thinking of the conversation between Socrates and Cephalus in Plato, Rep. 329 D, for which see Introd. —— **moderati**: 'self-controlled'; cf. n. on 1 *moderationem*; *difficiles*, 'peevish'; *inhumani*, 'unkindly'; *importunitas*, 'perversity'. *Importunitas* seems to be used as the substantive corresponding in sense with the adjective *difficilis*. *Difficultas*, in the sense of 'peevishness', probably occurs only in Mur. 19.

8. dixerit quispiam: 'some one will say presently'; a gentle way of introducing one's own objection. The mood of *dixerit* is probably indicative, not subjunctive; see the thorough discussion in Roby, Gram., Vol. 2, Pref., p. CIV. *et seq.* —— **opes et copias**: 'resources and means'. *Opes* has a wider meaning than *copias* (mere material wealth) and includes all sources of power, influence, and authority as well as wealth. Thus in Lael. 22 the end of *divitiae* is said to be enjoyment; of *opes*, worship (*opes ut colare*). *Dignitas* is social position. —— **id**: remark the singular pronoun, which indicates that the preceding clause is now taken as conveying one idea. Trans. 'such fortune'. —— **contingere**: 'to fall to one's lot' is the phrase in English which most closely represents *contingere*. This verb is not, as is often assumed, used merely of *good* fortune; it implies in itself nothing concerning the *character* of events, whether they be good or bad, but simply that the events take place *naturally* and were to be expected. See n. on Lael. 8, where the word is distinctly used in connection with *bad* fortune, as it is, strikingly, in 71 below. —— **est...omnia**: 'your statement indeed amounts to something, but it by no means comprises every consideration'. The phrase *esse aliquid*, 'to be of some importance', is often used by Cic. both of things and of persons; cf. Tusc. 5, 104 *eos aliquid esse*, also n. on 17 *nihil afferunt*. So *esse aliquis* of persons, as in the well-known passage of Iuvenal, 1, 72 *aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum si vis esse aliquis*. For the general sense cf. Tusc. 3, 52 *est id quidem magnum, sed non sunt in hoc omnia*;

so De Or. 2, 215; ib. 3, 221; Leg. 2, 24 *in quo sunt omnia.* —— **isto**: the use of the neuter pronoun in the oblique case as substantive is noticeable. —— **Themistocles** etc.: Cicero borrows the story from Plato (Rep. 329 E *et seq.*), but it was first told by Herodotus, 8, 125 who gave a somewhat different version. Themistocles had received great honors at Sparta when Athenian ambassador there; an envious man declaring that the honors were paid really to Athens and not to Themistocles, the statesman answered *οὔτ' ἂν ἐγώ, ἐὼν Βελβινίτης* (*i. e.* an inhabitant of the small island of Belbina lying to the S. of Cape Sunium) *ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὔτ' ἂν σύ, ἄνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος.* —— **Seriphio**: Seriphus is a small island belonging to the Cyclad group and lying almost due N. of Melos, and due E. of the Scyllaean promontory. Seriphus is often taken by ancient writers as a specimen of an insignificant community (*e. g.* Aristoph. Acharn. 542; Cic. N. D. 1, 88), but it had the honor of being one of the three island states which refused to give earth and water to the Persian envoys, the other two being the adjacent islands of Melos and Siphnus (Herodotus, 8, 46). —— **iurgio**: *iurgium* is a quarrel which does not go beyond words; *rixa* a quarrel where the disputants come to blows. —— **si ego**: but further on, *tu si.* The contrast would certainly be more perfect if *ego si* were read, as has been proposed, in place of *si ego.* —— **quod eodem modo . . . dici**: Cic. commonly says *quod ita dicendum* and the like; see n. on 35 *quod ni ita fuisset.* Cato means that just as Themistocles' success was due to two things, his own character and his good fortune, so two things are necessary to make old age endurable, viz. moderate fortune and wisdom. He then in 9 insists that of these two conditions wisdom is far the more important. —— **nec . . . levis . . . nec . . . non gravis**: notice the chiasmus.

9. omnino: here = *παντάπασι* 'undoubtedly', in a strongly affirmative sense, as in 76; but in 28 (where see n.) it is concessive. —— **cum diu multumque vixeris**: literally 'when you have lived long and much', *i. e.* when you have not only had a long life but have done a great deal in the course of it. The phrases *diu multumque, multum et diu* are common in Cic., as below, 38; Acad. 1, 4; Div. 2, 1; Off. 1, 118; Leg. Agr. 2, 88; De Or. 1, 152. For mood see A. 309, *a*; H. 518, 2. —— **ecferunt**: *ecferunt* for *efferunt* (*ec* = *ex* = *ecs*; so *ἐκ* = *ἐξ* = *ἐκς*) was old-fashioned in Cicero's time, but forms of the sort, as below, 39 *ecfrenate*, according to the evidence of the best MSS., occur in a good many passages. See Neue, Formenlehre, Vol. 2, pp. 766

seq., ed. 2. —— **numquam deserunt**: the omission of the object after *deserunt* is not common. With the general sense of this passage cf. Arch. 16 *litterarum studia adulescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.*

P. 5. — 10. Q. Maximum: the famous Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Ovicula Cunctator, hero of the Second Punic War. —— **eum ... recepit**: this clause has often been suspected to be an insertion of the writers of MSS. But (1) the capture of Tarentum in 209 B. C. was Fabius' crowning achievement, and 'captor of Tarentum' was often added to his name as a title of honor; see De Orat. 2, 273; and (2) there were several other persons of distinction bearing the name Q. Maximus about the same time, so that some special mark was wanted for the sake of clearness. Notice *recepit* 'recovered', Tarentum having been lost by the Romans to Hannibal in 212 B. C. —— **senem adulescens**: observe the emphasis given by placing close together the two words of opposite meaning. —— **erat ... gravitas**: 'that hero possessed dignity tempered by courtesy'. Expressions like *erat in illo gravitas* are common in Cicero; *e. g.* Mur. 58 *erat in Cotta summa eloquentia.* The metaphor in *condīta*, 'seasoned', is also common; cf. Lael. 66 *condimentum amicitiae.* —— **quamquam**: 'though indeed', introducing a necessary correction of the last words *nec senectus mores mutaverat.* For this corrective *quamquam* cf. n. on 2. —— **consul primum**: B. C. 233. —— **grandem natu**: although the phrases *maior, maximus, parvus, minor, minimus natu* are of frequent occurrence, yet *magnus natu* is not Latin, *grandis natu* being always used instead. The historians sometimes use *magno natu esse* or *in magno natu esse.* —— **anno post**: the word *unus* is not usually attached to *annus* except where there is a strong contrast between one and a larger number of years. *Anno post* must not be translated 'during the year after'; but either 'a year after', *anno* being regarded as the ablative of measure or excess, literally 'later by a year', or 'at the end of a year', the ablative being one of limitation, and *fuerat* being equivalent to *factus erat* 'had been elected'. So *quinto anno* below, 'at the end of the fifth year', *i. e.* 'five years after'. —— **adulescentulus miles**: See n. on 21 *quemquam senem.* Translate 'when quite a youth I marched with him to Capua as a private soldier'. G. 324; H. 363, 3, 2). *Miles* here = *gregarius miles.* ——

quem magistratum: *sc. quaesturam*, to be understood from *quaestor*. Cf. Mur. 18 *quaesturam una petiit et sum ego factus* (*sc. quaestor*) *prior*. —— **Tuditano et Cethego**: when the *praenomina* of the consuls are given the names generally stand side by side without *et*; when they are omitted *et* is generally inserted. Cf. n. on 50 *Centone Tuditanoque*, etc. —— **cum quidem**: the *quidem* simply adds a slight emphasis to *cum*; 'at the very time when', ἐπειδή γε. —— **suasor**: *suasor legis* was any person who publicly (*i. e.* before the senate or people in *contio* assembled) spoke in favor of a measure, *dissuasor* any one who spoke against it. Cf. 14 *suasissem*. —— **legis Cinciae**: a law passed in 204 B. C. by M. Cincius Alimentus, a plebeian tribune, whereby advocates were forbidden to take fees from their clients, and certain limitations were placed on gifts of property by private persons. —— **cum ... esset**: '*though* he was'; so below 11, 30, etc. —— **grandis**: = *grandis natu*. —— **iuveniliter**: Hannibal was 29 years of age when he entered Italy in 218. —— **exsultantem**: 'wildly roaming'. The word in its literal sense is used of a horse galloping at its own will over a plain. The metaphorical use is common in Cicero; cf. Acad. 2, 112 *cum sit campus in quo exsultare possit oratio, cur eam tantas in angustias compellimus?* —— **patientia**: 'endurance', 'persistence'; it is not equivalent to our 'patience'. —— **praeclare**: *sc. dicit;* cf. n. on 3. —— **familiaris**: see Introd. —— **unus homo** etc.: these lines were famous, and were not only often quoted with the name of Ennius attached (as in Off. 1, 84; Livy 30, 26), but also imitated or adapted without mention of his name, as being too familiar to need it; cf. Att. 2, 19, 2; Ovid, Fast. 2, 241; Verg. Aen. 6, 846; Suet. Tib. 21. —— **cunctando**: Cf. Polybius 3, 105, 8. On Fabius' military policy consult Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Bk. III. ch. 5. —— **rem**: here = *rem publicam*. —— **noenum**: the older form from which *non* is an abbreviation; — *ne-oinom*, *n-oinom*, literally 'not one thing'; cf. *nihil* = *ne-hilum* 'not a whit', also the rare word *ningulus* = *ne oinculus*, 'not even a little one'. —— **rumores**: 'fame', 'public opinion'. —— **ponebāt**: for the long vowel cf. n. on 1, l. 2 *versat*. —— **plusque**: MSS. *postque; plusque* is the emendation of Bernays. *Plusque magisque* is a variation upon the ordinary phrases *plus plusque, magis magisque*.

11. Salinatori: there can be no doubt that Cicero is guilty of a blunder here, and in De Or. 2, 273 where the story also occurs. Livy (27, 34, 7) gives M. Livius Macatus as the name of the Roman com-

mander who held the citadel of Tarentum while Hannibal was in possession of the town. Cicero probably found the commander described by the annalists merely as M. Livius (so in Livy 24, 20, 13; 26, 39, 1), and then jumped to the conclusion that he was the famous M. Livius Salinator. This man, the father of the Salinator mentioned in 7, was consul in 219 and subdued the Illyrians, but was condemned for misappropriation of public moneys and went into exile. In 210 he was induced to return by the desire of the senate. In 207 he became consul with C. Claudius Nero, and defeated Hasdrubal in the great battle of the Metaurus. In 204 Livius was censor with Nero as his colleague, and won his name *Salinator* by imposing a tax on salt. The title was bestowed in ridicule, but clung to the family. Salinator was a relative of M. Livius Macatus. See Liv. 27, 34, 7. —— **ita dicenti** etc.: the anecdote is told by Livy, 27, 25, 5 and Plutarch, Fab. 23. Both, however, refer the story not to the time at which Tarentum was taken, but to the year after, when altercations about it took place in the senate. —— **toga**: here put for 'civil life', the *toga* being replaced in time of war by the *sagum*. Cf. in Pisonem 73 *pacis est insigne et oti toga, contra autem arma tumultus atque belli;* De Or. 3, 167 '*togam*', *pro* '*pace*', '*arma*', *ac* '*tela*', *pro* '*bello*'. We have the same contrast between *arma* and *toga* in Cicero's own much-derided verse, *cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi*, which is defended by him, in Pis. 73 and Off. 1, 77. —— **consul iterum** etc.: as the second consulship of Fabius was in 228 B. C., while the law of Flaminius was passed in 232 (according to Polybius), it is very difficult to understand the statement here made. It is possible that Flaminius was one of the commissioners for executing his own law, and that its execution lasted over the time of Fabius' second consulship. The Flaminius here mentioned is the same who fell as consul in 217 at the battle of lake Trasimenus. He held large and statesman-like views on the policy of securing Italy by planting Romans and Latins in the territory then recently taken from the Gauls, in the neighborhood of Ariminum. This particular measure was carried against the will of the senate, and was the first law passed, since the *lex Hortensia* of 287, in defiance of its wishes. It was also the first agrarian law since the Licinio-Sextian law of 367. Polybius dates the decline of the Roman constitution from the passing of the *lex Flaminia*. Cf. 'Rheinisches Museum', 1843, p. 573. —— **Sp. Carvilio quiescente**: this Sp. Carvilius was consul in 234 when

he conquered the Corsicans and Sardinians. In 228 he was again consul, and died as augur in 212. He is said, but erroneously, to have been the first Roman who divorced his wife. In 216, just after the battle of Cannae, he made a most remarkable proposal, to fill up the gaps which that battle had made in the numbers of the senate by selecting two members from each of the Latin communities. It was almost the only occasion in the course of Roman history when anything like modern representative government was advocated. Carvilius was not sprung from one of the noble families, who for the most part monopolized the higher offices of state; it is therefore not surprising that he should have sympathized with Flaminius. —— **contra senatus auctoritatem**: 'against the expressed wish of the senate'. *Senatus auctoritas* is, strictly speaking, an opinion of the senate not formally embodied in a decree, *senatus consultum*. Cicero, in Invent. 2, 52 says Flaminius carried his law *contra voluntatem omnium optimatium*. —— **dividenti**: 'when he tried to divide'. The participle is here equivalent to *cum* with the imperfect indicative (*dividebat*). So in 54 *lenientem*. A. 290, *a*; G. 668; H. 549, 1.

P. 6. — **cum esset**: '*though* he was'. What Fabius declared was really that the *auspicia* were a political instrument in the hands of the aristocrats, rather than a part of religion. Fabius, according to Liv. 30, 26, 7, was augur for 62 years before his death, and had no doubt had a large experience in the manipulation of the *auspicia* for political purposes. Compare Homer, Iliad, 12, 243; also Cic. Phil. 11, 28 *Iuppiter ipse sanxit ut omnia quae rei publicae salutaria essent legitima et iusta haberentur* Consult Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Bk. IV. Ch. 12.

12. **admirabilius**: 'more amazing'. The Latin word has a much stronger meaning than the English word derived from it. —— **quo modo tulit**: = *eum modum quo tulit*, so that the clause is not really dependent on *cognovi*, nor *tulit* irregularly put for *tulerit*. In Lael. 9 Laelius exclaims, of Cato himself, *quo modo, ut alia omittam, mortem fili tulit*. And no doubt Cic. meant here to make Cato allude to *his* loss, described in 84. —— **fili**: see n. on 1 *praemi*. —— **consularis**: the son of Fabius was consul in 213 with Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. —— **est in manibus**: 'is in every one's hands', 'is commonly read'. The expression is common enough in this sense; *e. g.* Lael. 96 *in manibus est oratio*. —— **laudatio**: *sc. funebris*, the funeral speech. This composition was read in Cicero's time (see Tusc. 3, 70; Fam. 4,

6, 1) and existed in the time of Plutarch. See Plutarch's life of Fab. 24. —— **quem philosophum**: many of the ancient philosophers wrote popular treatises in which the principles of philosophy were applied to the alleviation of sorrow. The most famous of these in Cicero's time was Crantor's περὶ πένθους, which Cicero used largely in writing his *Tusculan Disputations*, and also in his *De Consolatione* on the death of his daughter. —— **in luce ... civium**: 'in public and under the gaze of his fellow-countrymen'. Do not translate *in oculis* by the English phrase 'in the eyes of', which has another sense. The metaphor in *lux* is often used by Cicero, as Qu. Fr. 1, 1, 7 *in luce Asiae, in oculis provinciae.* —— **notitia**: *notitia* is general knowledge, often merely the result of superficial observation; *scientia* is thorough knowledge, the result of elaboration and generalization. —— **multae litterae**: 'great literary attainments'. In this sense *magnae* could not be used to represent 'great'. Note the ellipsis of *erant.* —— **ut in homine Romano**: 'considering that he was a Roman', or 'for a Roman'. On the backwardness of the Romans in literary pursuits see Teuffel, Hist. of Rom. Lit., § 2; cf. also Ritter, Hist. of Ancient Philosophy, Vol. IV. pp. 1-13, Eng. ed. In parenthetic clauses like this, the introductory *ut* may convey two very different meanings according to the context. Thus in Acad. 2, 98 *homo acutus, ut Poenus* is 'a keen-witted man, *as might be expected of* a Carthaginian' (cf. Colum. 1, 3, 8 *acutissimam gentem Poenos*) while Nepos, Epam. 5, 2 *exercitatum in dicendo ut Thebanum* implies that oratory was *not* to be expected of a Theban. —— **domestica ... externa bella**: here the *domestica bella* are those wars which belong to the history of Rome; the *externa bella* those wars which belong to the history of other states; but usually *domestica bella* are civil wars, *externa* foreign wars in which Rome is engaged; *e. g.* Leg. agr. 2, 90 *omnibus domesticis externisque bellis;* in Catil. 2, 11 *omnia sunt externa unius virtute pacata: domesticum bellum manet, intus insidiae sunt.* The practice of reading military history was common among Roman commanders; see for instance Acad. 2, 3 of Lucullus; the practice is ridiculed by Marius in Sall. Iug. 85. —— **ita**: *ita* does not qualify *cupide*, and has not the sense of *tam;* it means rather 'in this state', 'under these conditions'; the words from *quasi* to the end of the sentence really form an explanation of *ita*. This mode of expression is often found; *ita* and *sic* frequently look on to clauses introduced by *quasi, si, ut, cum* etc. Cf. below 26 *sic ... quasi ... cupiens* (where see n.); Sall. Iug. 85, 19

ita aetatem agunt quasi vestros honores contemnunt, ita hos petunt quasi honeste vixerint. —— **divinarem**: see references on 6 *confeceris.* —— **illo exstincto**: Fabius died in 203 B. C. —— **fore unde discerem neminem**: cf. Acad. 1, 8 *quae nemo adhuc docuerat nec erat unde studiosi scire possent. Unde* of persons (here = *a quo*) is common in both verse and prose (so ὅθεν and ὅθενπερ, vid. Liddell and Scott in vv.); cf. Horace 1, 12, 17 *unde nil maius generatur ipso;* 1, 28, 28; Cic. de Or. 1, 67 *ille ipse unde cognorit;* ib. 2, 285. So *ubi* = *apud quem* in Verr. 4, 29; *quo* = *ad quos* below, 83, and in Verr. 4, 38; cf. also n. on *istinc* in 47. For mood of *discerem* see A. 320; G. 634; H. 503, I.

13. quorsus igitur haec: *sc. dixi.* —— **tam multa**: this takes the place of *tot*, which, like *quot*, cannot be used as a substantive. —— **Scipiones**: 'men like Scipio', *i. e.* the elder Africanus; so 15 *Fabricii Curii Coruncanii.* Cicero has here put his own opinion of Scipio into the mouth of Cato, who, during a large part of his life, was a staunch and even bitter opponent of Scipio, and therefore not likely to couple him with Fabius. Cf. Introd. —— **ut ... recordentur**: the repetition of *ut* with each clause for the sake of effect may be compared with the repetition of *nihil* in 15, 27, 41; of *non* in 32; of *hinc* in 40; of *sibi* in 58. —— **pedestris**: for *terrestris;* the usage is very common; so in Greek πεζομαχία and ναυμαχία, πεζομαχεῖν and ναυμαχεῖν are often contrasted (see Liddell and Scott). It is not recorded by historians that either Scipio or Fabius took part personally in naval warfare. —— **recordentur**: this verb implies the habitual dwelling of the memory upon the past. —— **quiete et pure atque eleganter**: the enumeration consists of two branches connected by *et*, the second branch being subdivided into two members connected by *atque.* Had each of the adverbs been intended to stand on exactly the same footing Cic. would have written *et* instead of *atque*, or else would have omitted the copula altogether; see n. on 53 *capitum iugatio.* In enumerations of the form $A + (B_1 + B_2)$, the + outside the bracket is expressed by *et*, the + inside the bracket generally being expressed by *ac*, for which *atque* is substituted when the following word (*i. e.* B_2) begins with a vowel, a guttural (*c, q, g*) or *h*, before which *ac* was very seldom written. —— **pure atque eleganter**: 'sinlessly and gently'. *Pure* implies moral stainlessness, *eleganter*, literally 'in choice fashion', implies daintiness combined with simplicity in regard to the external conditions of life. The same ideas are put

together in Sull. 79 *cum summa elegantia atque integritate vixistis.* —— **aetatis**: see n. on 5. —— **placida ac lenis**: 'quiet and mild'; *placida* refers to the external surroundings, *lenis* to the temper and character. ——**accepimus**: *sc. fuisse*; for the ellipsis of the infinitive cf. n. on 22 *videretur.* —— **uno et octogesimo**: but below *quarto* (not *quattuor*) *nonagesimo.* In the compound *ordinal* numbers corresponding to those *cardinal* numbers which are made up of one and a multiple of ten, the Latins use *unus* oftener than *primus*, which would be strictly correct; so in English 'one and eightieth' for 'eighty-first'. The ordinary Grammar rule (Roby, Vol. 1, p. 443 'the *ordinal* not the *cardinal* is used in giving the date') requires slight correction. For the position of the words see G. 94, 3; H. 174, foot-note 3. —— **scribens est mortuus**: 'died while still engaged upon his works'; cf. 23 *num Platonem ... coegit in suis studiis obmutiscere senectus?* Diog. Laert. 3, 2 quoting Hermippus (a Greek writer on biography who lived about the time of the Second Punic war), says that Plato died in the middle of a marriage-feast at which he was a guest. Val. Max. 8, 7, 3 gives a slightly different account. —— **Isocrati**: this form of the genitive of Greek proper names in *-es* was probably used by Cicero rather than the form in *-is*; see Madvig on Fin. 1, 14; Neue, Formenlehre, 1^2 332. Isocrates, the greatest teacher of rhetoric of his time, lived from 436 to 338, when he died by voluntary starvation owing to his grief at the loss of Greek freedom through the battle of Chaeronea. Milton, Sonnet x. 'That dishonest victory At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty, Kill'd with report that old man eloquent'. —— **eum ... inscribitur**: the periphrasis is common, and the verb *inscribere* is nearly always in the present tense (in later prose as well as in Cicero) as in 59. This is sometimes the case even where the neighboring verbs are in past tenses, as in Acad. 1, 12 *nec se tenuit quin contra suum doctorem librum etiam ederet qui Sosus inscribitur.* The present seems to mean that the name mentioned is continually given to each copy of the book as produced; where the continuing multiplication of copies is not looked to, we have the perfect, as Att. 8, 5, 2 *tu fasciculum* (bundle of letters) *qui est inscriptus 'des M'. Curio', velim cures ad eum perferendum.* Cf. also De Or. 2, 61 *deceptus indicibus librorum qui sunt fere inscripti* ('to which the authors — once for all — have given the titles') *de virtute, de iustitia,* etc.; so Div. 2, 1 *eo libro qui est inscriptus Hortensius.* —— **dicit**: the 'Panathenaicus', an encomium of Athens written for recitation at the great festival of the

Panathenaea, is among the works of Isocrates which we still possess. In c. 1 Isocrates says *τοῖς ἔτεσι ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τετταρσίν, ὧν ἐγὼ τυγχάνω γεγονώς.* —— **vixitque**: 'and yet he lived'. The *que* here has a slight adversative force, as is often the case with *et*. Cf. n. on 28, 43, 73. —— **Gorgias**: the greatest of the sophists, born at Leontini in Sicily about 485 B. C.; his death took place, according to the varying accounts, in 380, 378, or 377. In his old age he lived in Thessaly, where Isocrates studied with him; see Or. 176; Fin. 2, 1. For the adjective *Leontinus* placed before the name rather than after cf. 43 *Thessalo Cinea.* —— **centum et septem annos**: Kennedy, Gram., § 34, vii, *c*, says, 'in compound numbers above 100 the larger number, with or without *et*, generally precedes the smaller'; cf. Roby, Vol. 1, p. 443. —— **cesso**: does not correspond in meaning with our 'cease', *i. e.* '*to come to* a standstill'; *cesso* is 'I am in a state of rest', 'I am idle'. —— **quaereretur**: the past tense, though the principal verb, *inquit*, is in the present, because the present is the *historical* present and so equivalent to a past tense. Cf. Roby, 1511–1514; Kennedy, 229, 2. A. 287, *e*; G. 511, Rem. 1; H. 495, II. The idiom by which the imperfect stands where we should expect a tense of completed action, should be noticed; cf. Tusc. 2, 60 *quem cum rogaret, respondit.* The explanation of the imperfect in such cases is that it marks out, more clearly than the pluperfect would, the fact that the action of the principal verb and the action of the dependent verb are practically contemporaneous. In our passage if *quaesitum esset* had been written it would have indicated merely that at some quite indefinite time after the question was put the answer was given. Cf. N. D. 1, 60 *auctore ... obscurior.* —— **cur ... vita**: a hint at suicide, which the ancients thought a justifiable mode of escape from troubles, particularly those of ill health or old age. See n. on 73 *vetat Pythagoras. Esse in vita* is stronger than *vivere;* cf. Qu. Fr. 1, 3, 5. —— **nihil habeo quod accusem**: 'I have no reason to reproach'. Cf. the common phrase *quid est quod ...? Quod*, adverbial acc. A. 240, *a*; G. 331, R. 3; H. 378, 2. For mood of *accusem* see H. 503, I. n. 2, and references on 12 *discerem.* —— **praeclarum responsum**: *est* is not required, because *responsum* is in apposition to the last part of the preceding sentence. Similar appositions occur in Laelius, 67, 71, 79. —— **docto**: applied especially to philosophers, but also to poets. The word implies *cultivation* as well as mere *knowledge;* 'a learned man', merely as such, is '*homo litteratus*'; cf. n. on 54.

P. 7.—14. cuius ... feci: 'the aforesaid' is in good Latin always expressed by a parenthesis like this and not by a participle in agreement with the noun. The phrases '*ante dictus*', '*supra dictus*', belong to silver Latin, where they are common. Cf. 23 *quos ante dixi.* —— **sic ut** etc.: the lines are from the Annals of Ennius, for which see n. on 1. —— **ecus:** Ennius did not write *uu*, nor most likely did Cicero; the former may have written either *ecus*, *equos*, or *equs*. The last form Vahlen prints in his edition of Ennius. —— **spatio supremo:** 'at the end of the race-course', 'at the goal', or it may be 'at the last turn round the course', the race requiring the course to be run round several times; cf. Homer's πύματον δρόμον in Iliad 23, 768. So 83 *decurso spatio;* Verg. Aen. 5, 327 *iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam finem adventabant.* —— **vicit Olumpia:** a direct imitation of the Greek phrase νικᾶν Ὀλύμπια, to win a victory at an Olympic contest. So Horace Ep. 1, 1, 50 has *coronari Olympia* = στεφανοῦσθαι Ὀλύμπια. The editors print *Olympia*, but the use of *y* to represent Greek υ did not come in till long after the time of Ennius. —— **senio:** differs from *senectute* in implying not merely old age, but the weakness which usually accompanies it. —— **confectus:** for the disregard of the final *s* in scanning cf. n. on 1, l. 6. —— **equi victoris:** for the almost adjectival use of the substantive *victor*, cf. Verg. Aen. 7, 656 *victores equos;* ib. 12, 751 *venator canis;* ib. 10, 891; 11, 89, and Georg. 2, 145 *bellator equus*, in Theocritus 15, 51 πολεμισταὶ ἵπποι. The feminine nouns in *-trix* are freely used as adjectives both in verse and in prose. A. 88, *c*; H. 441, 3. —— **quem quidem:** the same form of transition is used in 26, 29, 46, 53. The whole of this passage to *suasissem* is an exhibition of antiquarian learning quite unnatural and inappropriate in a dialogue. —— **probe meminisse potestis:** cf. De Or. 3, 194 *quem tu probe meministi;* Fin. 2, 63 *L. Thorius quem meminisse tu non potes. Memini* can take a *personal* accusative only when the person who remembers was a contemporary of the person remembered; otherwise the gen. follows. Cf. Roby, 1333; A. 219, Rem.; H. 407, n. 1. —— **hi consules:** 'the present consuls'. —— **T. Flamininus:** commonly said to be the son of the great Flamininus (1, l. 1). He was altogether undistinguished, as also were the Acilius and the Caepio here mentioned. This passage gives the imagined date of the dialogue as 150 B. C. —— **Philippo:** this was Q. Marcius Philippus, who was consul in 186 and took part in the suppression of the great Bacchanalian conspiracy of that year. For the next 17 years he was a

leading senator and much engaged in diplomacy in the East. In 169 he was again consul and commanded against Perseus in the early part of the war. —— **cum ... legem Voconiam ... suasissem**: 'after I had spoken publicly in favor of the law of Voconius'. For *suasissem* cf. 10 *suasor* with n. The *Lex Voconia de mulierum hereditatibus* aimed at securing the continuance of property in families. By its provisions no man who possessed property valued in the censors' lists at 100,000 sesterces or more, could appoint a woman or women as his *heres* or *heredes*; further, no person or persons, male or female, could receive under the will legacies amounting in all to a larger sum than that received by the principal heir or heirs. Every Roman will named a *heres* or *heredes*, on whom devolved all the privileges and duties of the deceased, with such duties as were enjoined by the will; particularly the duty of paying the legacies left to those who were not *heredes*. See Maine, Ancient Law, Ch. 6; also Hunter, Introd. to Roman Law, Ch. 5. —— **magna**: in Latin the word *magnus* is the only equivalent of our 'loud'. —— **lateribus**: 'lungs'. Cic. and the best writers rarely use *pulmones* for 'lungs'; the few passages in which it occurs either refer to victims sacrificed at the altar, or are medical or physiological descriptions. 'Good lungs' is always '*bona latera*' never *pulmones*. —— **duo ... senectutem**: Ennius is said to have kept a school in his later days, and to have lived in a cottage with one servant only.

15. etenim: this word generally introduces either an explanation or a proof of a preceding statement. Here the words are elliptic, and the real connection with what precedes can only be made clear by a paraphrase. 'Ennius seemed to delight in old age. And no wonder, since there are four causes which make men think old age wretched, and no one of these will bear examination'. *Etenim* may generally be translated 'indeed', or 'in fact'. —— **cum complector animo**: 'when I grasp them in my thoughts'. The object of *complector* is to be supplied from *causas*. —— **avocet**: *sc. senes*. The subjunctives denote that these are the thoughts not of the speaker, but of the persons who do think old age a wretched thing. See n. on 3 *ferat*; but cf. Kennedy, Grammar, pref., p. 30. —— **alteram ... tertiam**: in enumerations of more than two things *unus* and *alter* generally take the place of *primus* and *secundus*; in Cic. these latter rarely occur under such circumstances. Cf. Att. 3, 15, 1; Fin. 5, 9; Off. 1, 152; Cluent. 178. —— **infirmius**: *sc. quam antea erat*. —— **quam sit iusta**:

Cicero generally separates from the words they qualify *quam, tam, ita, tantus, quantus*, often, as here, by one small word. Cf. below, 35 *quam fuit imbecillus;* 40 *tam esse inimicum.* —— **quibus**: the preposition *a* is often omitted; cf. in Pis. 91 *Arsinoen ... Naupactum fateris ab hostibus esse captas. Quibus hostibus? Nempe eis*, etc.; Tusc. 3, 37 *sed traducis cogitationes meas ad voluptates. Quas?* Even when relative and antecedent are in the same sentence the preposition is not often repeated; *e. g.* Fin. 5, 68 *eodem in genere quo illa.* —— **an eis**: *an* always introduces a question which is not independent, but follows upon a previous question either expressed or implied. Here *quibus* implies *omnibusne*. Cf. div. in Caec. 52 *quid enim dices? An id quod dictitas ...* where *quid* implies *nihilne;* also below, 23, 29 *anne*. A. 211, *b*; G. 459; H. 353, 2, n. 4. —— **iuventute et viribus**: commonly explained as a hendiadys, *i. e.* as put for *iuventutis viribus;* but Cic. no more meant this than we mean 'the strength of youth' when we speak of 'youth and strength'. Real instances of hendiadys are much rarer than is generally supposed. —— **quae**: = *tales ut.* —— **L. Paulus**: this is L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, consul in 182 B. C., and again in 168 when he finished the third Macedonian war by utterly defeating Perseus at Pydna. For his connection with Scipio and Cato see Introd. —— **pater tuus**: *i. e. Scipio;* so in 29 *avi tui*, and in 75 *avum tuum*, without mention of young Scipio's name, but in 49 *patris tui, Scipio;* so 77. —— **Fabricii** etc.: for the plurals see n. on 13. C. Fabricius Luscinus, consul in 282, 278, and 273 B. C., censor in 275, held the command against Pyrrhus. The Roman writers, Cicero especially, are never tired of eulogizing him as a pattern of old-fashioned Roman virtue. Manius Curius Dentatus, consul in 290, 275, and 274 practically, if not formally, ended the third Samnite war, and also commanded against Pyrrhus; see 55. He was famed for his sturdy Roman simplicity and frugality. Tiberius Coruncanius as consul in 280 crushed an Etruscan insurrection. In 252 he became the first plebeian pontifex maximus. These three men are very frequently mentioned together by Cicero; cf. below, 43, Lael. 18. —— **nihil agebant**: observe that *nihil agebat* is put at the beginning of the first sentence, *nihil agebant* at the end of the second; chiasmus.

16. A. Claudi: Appius Claudius, the head of the most strongly aristocratic family in Rome, was censor in 311 B. C., when he constructed the *via Appia*, and consul in 307 and 296. He had to be carried into the senate-house in order to oppose the peace with Pyr-

rhus. —— **accedebat ut**: *accedit* is far oftener followed by a clause with *quod* and indicative than by a clause with *ut* and subjunctive. When the *quod*-clause follows, it contains a fact looked at merely as a fact and nothing more; but the *ut*-clause views the fact as consequent upon, or dependent on some other fact. Here the blindness is regarded as being the consequence of old age; though Livy 9, 29, 11 and other authors attribute it to the anger of the gods, because as censor Appius had taken the administration of the worship of Hercules away from the ancient family of the Potitii, and had placed it in the hands of public slaves. The mental vigor of Appius in his old age is mentioned by Cic. in Tusc. 5, 112.

P. 8. — **cum Pyrrho**: note the position of the words between *pacem* and *foedus*, with both of which they go. This usage is called by the grammarians *coniunctio;* cf. n. on Lael. 8 *cum summi viri tum amicissimi;* also above, *quae iuventute geruntur et viribus;* below, 18 *quae sint gerenda praescribo et quo modo.* —— **foedus**: this seems opposed to *pacem* as a formal engagement is to a mere abstention from hostilities. —— **non dubitavit dicere**: when *dubitare* means 'to hesitate' (about a course of action), and the sentence is *negative*, or an interrogative sentence assuming a negative answer, the infinitive construction generally follows, as here; but the infinitive is rare in a *positive* sentence. When *dubitare* means to 'be in doubt' (as to whether certain statements are true or not), the regular construction is either *quin* with subj. or some form of indirect interrogative clause. Cf. below, 25. —— **quo vobis**: from the *Annales.* In *mentes dementis* we have *oxymoron* (an intentional contradiction in terms) as in 38 *sensim sine sensu;* 39 *munus...aufert.* On the case of *vobis*, see Roby, 1154; A. 235, *a*; H. 384, 4, n. 2. —— **antehac**: always a dissyllable in verse, and probably so pronounced in prose. —— **viai**: the old genitive. A. 36, *a*; G. 27, Rem. 1; H. 49, 2. The reading is not quite certain; if *viai* be read it is not altogether certain whether it depends on *quo* or on *sese flexere.* In the former construction we have a partitive gen. with an adv.; A. 216, *a*, 4; G. 371, Rem. 4; H. 397, 4; in the latter, a distinct Graecism like *desine querellarum* (Hor. Od. 2, 9, 17) and the like; A. 243, Rem.; G. 373, Rem. 6; H. 410, V. 4. —— **et tamen**: the sense is incompletely expressed; in full it is 'and yet there is no need for me to refer to Appius' speech as given by Ennius, since the speech itself is in existence'. Exactly similar ellipses are found with *et tamen* in Fin. 1, 11 and 15; 2, §§ 15, 21, 64 and

85; Att. 7, 3, 10; Lucretius 5, 1177. In Munro's note on the last passage a collection of examples will be found. —— **Appi ... oratio**: the speech was known to Cicero, and was one of the oldest monuments of prose composition in Latin extant in his time; see Brut. 61. Plutarch, Pyrrhus 19, gives an account of Appius' speech, which may be founded on the original; he mentions it also in his tract commonly called '*an seni sit gerenda res publica*', c. 21. Ihne (History of Rome, Vol. I. p. 521, Eng. ed.) doubts whether the speech, as Cic. knew it, was committed to writing by Appius himself. —— **haec ille egit**: 'he made this speech'. —— **septemdecim annis**: as the second (*alterum*) consulship was in 296, and the speech in 280, both these years are included in the reckoning by a usage very common in Latin. For the ablative cf. 19. —— **censor ... ante consulatum**: this was unusual, and therefore to Claudius' honor. —— **grandem sane**: 'undoubtedly old'. —— **et tamen sic**: *i. e. cum tum grandem fuisse.* Lahmeyer wrongly says that *sic* points to the words *atque haec ille egit.* It may be noted that *sic* takes the place of an object after *accepimus;* cf. 77 *ita crederem;* 78 *sic mihi persuasi;* also 18 *male cogitanti.*

17. nihil afferunt: 'they bring forward nothing', *i. e.* what they bring forward is worthless; so in Greek οὐδὲν λέγειν, the opposite of which is λέγειν τι. Cf. 8 *est istuc aliquid.* —— **similes ut si**: a very rare construction. Equally unusual is *similes tamquam si* in Div. 2, 131. In Tusc. 4, 41 and Off. 1, 87 we find *similiter ut si*, in Fin. 2, 21 and 4, 31 *similiter* or *similis et si*, in N. D. 3, 8 *similiter ac si;* also in Liv. 5, 5, 12 *dissimilia ac si*, in 35, 42, 10 *idem ac si.* As regards the *ut* after *similes*, we may compare a few passages in which *simul ut* appears for *simul ac;* see Reid's n. on Academ. 2, 51. In the English Bible there are expressions like *similes sunt ut si qui dicant*, 'they are like as if some men should say'. —— **scandant**: '*cum* is used with the subjunctive when it expresses a kind of comparison, and especially a contrast, between the contents of a leading proposition and a subordinate ("whereas", etc.)'. Madvig, 358, Obs. 3. The underlying idea in this use is generally cause, sometimes concession. —— **per foros**: 'over the deck'. —— **ille**: for the omission of *sed* or *autem* (*asyndeton adversativum*) see n. on 3 *librum*, etc. —— **clavum**: 'tiller'. With this passage Lahmeyer well compares what Cicero says of himself in Fam. 9, 15, 3 *sedebamus in puppi et clavum tenebamus; nunc autem vix est in sentina locus.* —— **velocitate**: *velocitas* and *celeritas* differ

very slightly; the former means rather speed of movement in one line, the latter rather power of rapid motion with frequent change of direction. The emphatic word in this clause is *corporum*. Cf. Off. 1, 79 *honestum ... animi efficitur non corporis viribus*. —— **consilio ... sententia**: *consilio*, advice; *auctoritate*, weight of influence; *sententia*, an opinion or vote formally given. —— **quibus**: in twofold relation; with *orbari*, abl. of separation, with *augeri*, of specification.

18. nisi forte: ironical, used to introduce a possible, but absurd objection to something which has gone before. The verb that follows is always in the indicative. —— **miles** etc.: 'as common soldier'; see n. on 10. —— **in vario genere**: we use the plural, 'in different kinds'. Cf. Acad. 2, 3 *in omni genere belli*; Deiot. 12 *in omni genere bellorum*. —— **cessare**: cf. n. on 13. —— **at senatui** etc.: exactly the same ideas are expressed, with the same mention of Cato's activity, in Off. 1, 79. —— **male cogitanti**: 'which has now for a long time been plotting mischief'; A. 290, *a*; G. 671, 221; H. 549, 4; 467, III. 2. Cf. pro Sulla 70 *nefarie cogitare*; for the use of the adverb see n. on 16 *sic*. On Cato's attitude toward Carthage see Introd. —— **vereri**: the construction is unusual. *Vereor* regularly takes after it an accusative, or else a clause with *ne* or *ut*. A passage much resembling this is Rab. Post. 10 *omnes qui aliquid de se verebantur*; cf. also Att. 10, 4, 6 *de vita sua metuere*; Verg. Aen. 9, 207 *de te nil tale verebar*; in all these examples the ablative with *de* denotes the quarter threatened, not, as here, the quarter from which the threat comes. —— **exscisam**: from *exscindo*; most edd. *excisam*, but to raze a city is *urbem exscindere* not *excidere*; *e. g.* Rep. 6, 11 *Numantiam exscindes*.

19. quam palmam etc.: a prophecy after the event, like that in Rep. 6, 11 *avi relliquias*, the finishing up of the Punic wars. For the use of *relliquias* cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 30 *Troas relliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli*; ib. 598; ib. 3, 87. —— **tertius**: so all our MSS. This places the elder Scipio's death in 183, which agrees with Livy's account in 39, 50, 10. But the year before Cato's censorship was 185 not 183, hence some edd. read *quintus* and some *sextus* in place of *tertius*.

P. 9. — novem annis: as Cato's consulship was in 195 these words also apparently disagree with *tertius* above. *Novem annis post* means nine *full* years after, *i. e*, 185 not 186; cf. 42 *septem annis post*. —— **enim**: implies that the answer 'no' has been given to the question,

and proceeds to account for that answer. —— **excursione**: a military term = 'skirmishing'; Cf. Div. 2, 26 *prima orationis excursio*. —— **hastis**: loosely used for *pilis*. The long old Roman *hasta*, whence the name *hastati*, had long before Cato's time been discarded for the *pilum* or short javelin, which was thrown at the enemy from a distance, before the troops closed and used the sword. —— **consilium**: the repetition of *consilium* in a different sense from that which it had in the sentence before seems to us awkward; but many such repetitions are found in Cicero. *Consilium* corresponds to both 'counsel' and 'council'; the senate was originally *regium consilium*, the king's body of advisers. Here translate *summum consilium* 'the supreme deliberative body'. —— **senatum**: 'assembly of elders'. Cf. 56 *senatores, id est senes*. *Senatus* implies a lost verb *senā-re*, to be or grow old, from the stem of which both *senā-tus* and *senā-tor* are derived. This stem again implies a lost noun or adjective *senus*, old. The word *senatus* was collective, like *comitatus*, a body of companions, *exercitus*, a trained band etc.

20. amplissimum: 'most honorable'. —— **ut sunt ... senes**: the Spartan γερουσία, as it is commonly called, consisted of 28 members, all over 60 years of age. Herodotus uses the term γέροντες (*senes*) for this assembly; Xenophon γεροντία. In the Laconian dialect γερωΐα was its name; we also find γεροντεύειν 'to be a senator'. For *ut ... sic* cf. Academ. 2, 14, *similiter vos cum perturbare, ut illi rem publicam, sic vos philosophiam velitis;* also Lael. 19. —— **audire**: like ἀκούω, used especially of historical matters, since instruction in them was almost entirely oral. Cf. ἀνήκοος = 'ignorant of history'. —— **voletis**: see note on 7 *faciam ut potero*; cf. Roby, 1464, *a*; Madvig, 339, Obs. 1; A. 278, *b*; G. 234, Rem. 1; H. 470, 2. —— **adulescentibus**: Cic., when he wrote this, was possibly thinking of Athens and Alcibiades. —— **labefactatas**: the verb *labefacio* is foreign to good prose, in which *labefacto* is used. —— **sustentatas**: Cic. does not use *sustentus*. In Mur. 3 *sustinenda* is followed by *sustentata* in the same sentence. —— **cedo ... cito**: the line is of the kind called tetrameter iambic acatalectic (or octonarius), and is scanned thus: —

$$\cup \cup \acute{-} \mid -\!- \mid -\acute{-} \mid \cup - \parallel -\acute{-} \mid -\!- \mid -\acute{-} \mid \cup -.$$

In all kinds of iambic verse the old Romans freely introduced spondees where the Greeks used iambi; so in hexameters spondees for dactyls. Cf. Hor. Ep. ad. Pis. 254 *et seq.* —— cĕdo: = *dic*; from *ce*,

the enclitic particle involved in *hic* = (*hi-ce*) etc. and *da*, the root of *do*. So *cette* = *ce-dăte* = *cedte*, then *cette* by assimilation of *d* to *t*. The original meaning would thus be 'give here', and in this sense the word is often used. See Lex. *Dare* is commonly put for *dicere*, as *accipere* is for *audire*. —— **qui**: 'how'. —— **tantam**: = τοσαύτην οὖσαν. —— **Naevi**: Naevius lived about 264–194 B. C. His great work was a history of the First Punic War written in Saturnian verse, the rude indigenous metre of early Roman poetry. He wrote also plays, — tragedies and comedies, both *palliatae* and *praetextae*. For an account of him see Cruttwell, History of Roman Literature; also, Sellar, Roman Poets of the Republic, Ch. 3. If *Ludo* be read, it may be either from the Latin *ludus* (Naevius entitled a comedy *Ludius*) or from Λυδός, Lydian. —— **poetae**: Naevius seems to have been in the habit of adding *poeta* to his name. It appears in the well-known epitaph said to have been written by himself, also in the lines written against him by the family poet of the Metelli: '*malum dabunt Metelli Naevio poetae*'. The name *poeta* was new in Naevius' time and was just displacing the old Latin name *vates*: see Munro on Lucr. 1, 102. —— **proveniebant** etc.: the same metre as above, divided thus by Lahmeyer: —

provéni | *ebant* | *orát* | *ores* || *novi* | *stulti adu* | *lescén* | *tuli.*

The whole line has the look of being translated from the Greek: προὔβαινον (εἰς τὸ βῆμα) ῥήτορες καινοί τινες, μειράκια γελοῖα. Lr. takes *provenire* in the sense of 'to grow up', comparing Plin. Ep. I, 13, 1 *magnum proventum* ('crop') *poetarum annus hic attulit*; Sall. Cat. 8, 3 *provenere ibi scriptorum magna ingenia*. —— **videlicet**: 'you see'.

21. at: = ἀλλὰ γάρ; used, as in 32, 35, 47, 65, and 68, to introduce the supposed objection of an opponent. —— **credo**: 'of course'. Cf. 47 where *credo* follows *at* as here. —— **exerceas**: the subject is the indefinite 'you' equivalent to 'one', τις: 'unless one were to practise it'. So 28 *nequeas*: 33 *requiras*. Cf. also Plin. Ep. 8, 14, 3 *difficile est tenere quae acceperis, nisi exerceas*. For the mood see A. 309, *a*; G. 598, 597, Rem. 3; H. 508, 5, 2). —— **tardior**: 'unusually dull'; cf. Academ. 2, 97 *Epicurus quem isti tardum putant*. —— **Themistocles**: famed for his memory. —— **civium**: 'fellow-countrymen'; *perceperat*: 'had grasped' or 'mastered'. —— **qui . . . solitum**: 'that he often addressed as Lysimachus some one who for all that was Aristides'. The direct object of *salutare* is omitted. For *qui* = *tametsi is* cf. Att.

1, 13, 3 *nosmet ipsi, qui Lycurgei fuissemus, cotidie demitigamur;* also De Or. 1, 82. —— **esset**: A. 342; G. 631; H. 529, II. and n. 1, 1). —— **Lysimachum**: for *ut L.* or *pro Lysimacho.* So Arch. 19 *Homerum Chii suum vindicant* (= *ut suum* or *pro suo*). Lysimachus was the father of Aristides. —— **sunt**: = *vivunt*, as often; so in 32 *esse* = *vivere*: 54 *fuit* = *vixit*: 56, 60, 69. —— **sepulcra legens**: Cato was a great antiquarian; cf. 38 *Originum.* —— **in memoriam redeo mortuorum**: the genitive as with *memini, recordari* etc. For the phrase cf. Verr. 1, 120 *redite in memoriam, iudices, quae libido istius fuerit;* also below, 59 *in gratiam redire cum voluptate.* Here translate 'I refresh my memory of the dead'. —— **quemquam senem**: the best writers do not use *quisquam* as an adjective, but there is no need to alter *senem* into *senum* as some editors do, since *senem* is a substitute for a clause *cum senex esset;* 'I never heard that anybody because he was an old man...'. *Senes* must be so taken in 22, since *pontifices* etc. cannot stand as adjectives. Cf. n. on 10 *adulescentulus miles.* —— **vadimonia**: 'their appointments to appear in court, the debts due to them and the debts they owe'. When the hearing of a suit had to be adjourned, the defendant was bound over either on his own recognizance merely (*pure*) or along with sureties (*vades*) to appear in court on the day appointed for the next hearing, a sum or sums of money being forfeited in case of his non-appearance. The engagement to appear was technically called *vadimonium;* when the defendant entered into the engagement he was said *vadimonium promittere;* if he kept the engagement, *v. obire* or *sistere;* if he failed in it, *v. deserere.* The plural *vadimonia* is here used because a number of suits is meant; the word *constituta* is chosen as a more general term than *promissa*, and as referring to the circumstances of both plaintiff and defendant. Strictly speaking, it is the presiding judge who *vadimonia constituit.* On this account *vadimonia constituta* should be translated as above 'appointments', and not '*bonds*' or '*engagements*' to appear in court.

P. 10. — 22. **quid ... senes**: *sc. tibi videntur;* 'what do you think of old men as lawyers, etc.?' So without ellipsis, Fam. 9, 21, 1 *quid tibi ego in epistulis videor?* —— **ingenia**: = *suum cuique ingenium;* 'old men retain their wits'. —— **permaneat**: A. 266, *d*; G. 575; H. 513, I. —— **studium et industria**: 'earnestness and activity'; not a case of hendiadys, as some editors make it. Cf. n. on 15 *iuventute et viribus.* —— **neque ea solum**: = *οὐδὲ ταῦτα μόνον*, 'and that not

only'. —— **honoratis**: this does not correspond to our 'honored', but implies that the persons have held high offices (*honores*); cf. 61 *senectus honorata praesertim*. Here translate 'statesmen'. —— **in vita ... quieta**: 'in an unofficial and retired life'. There is chiasmus here, since *privata* is contrasted with *honoratis* and *quieta* with *claris*. —— **summam senectutem**: Sophocles died at the age of 90 in 405 B. C. —— **quod propter studium**: 'from his devotion to this occupation'. —— **filiis**: except Plutarch, who probably follows Cicero's words, all the authorities tell the story of the poet's eldest son Iophon only. The tale is full of improbabilities. —— **rem**: = *rem familiarem* as in 1. —— **patribus bonis interdici solet**: 'fathers are often prevented from managing their property'. For the construction cf. the expression *interdicere alicui aqua et igni*: *interdici* is here used impersonally with *patribus* in the dat.; A. 230; H. 384, 5; *bonis* is abl. of separation (deprivation). The fragment of the XII tables here referred to is thus given in Dirksen's edition: *sei fouriosos aut prodicos* (*prodigus*) *escit* (*erit*) *adcnatorum centiliomque* (*gentiliumque*) *eius potestas estod, i. e.* the agnates (male relatives whose kinship with the *furiosus* is derived through males) and members of his *gens* are to administer his property. We have preserved the form in which the judgment was made by the *praetor urbanus* (Paulus, Sent. 3, 4a, 7): '*quando tibi tua bona paterna avitaque nequitia tua disperdis liberosque tuos ad egestatem perducis, ob eam rem tibi ea re commercioque interdico*'. —— **quasi desipientem**: '*ὡς παραφρονοῦντα*' says the author of the anonymous life of Sophocles. Cf. Xenophon, Mem. 1, 2, 49. —— **in manibus habebat**: 'had on hand' *i. e.* in preparation. *Est in manibus* in 12 has a different meaning. —— **scripserat**: he had written it but not finally corrected it. —— **recitasse**: the common version of the story states that not the whole play was read but only the fine chorus beginning *εὐίππου, ξένε, τᾶσδε χώρας*. —— **videretur**: *sc. esse*; the infinitive is often omitted thus after verbs of desiring, thinking etc., also verbs of speaking and hearing; cf. Lael. 18 *eam sapientiam interpretantur*; ib. 29 *quam natam volunt*; ib. 64 *homines ex maxime raro genere iudicare*; Acad. 2, 12 *viderenturne ea Philonis*.

23. Hesiodum: see n. on 54. —— **Simoniden**: Simonides of Ceos (not S. of Amorgos), one of the greatest Greek lyric poets, lived from 556 to about 469 B. C. —— **Stesichorum**: of Himera in Sicily, also a lyric poet; lived from about 630 to about 556 B. C. —— **Isocraten Gorgian**: nn. on 13. —— **philosophorum principes**: 'in

the first rank of philosophers'. —— **Pythagoran**: neither the date of his birth nor that of his death can be determined; he 'flourished' about 530. He lived mostly in the Greek settlements of lower Italy, where his school existed for some centuries after his death. —— **Democritum**: of Abdera, one of the originators of the theory of atoms; said to have lived from 460 to 361 or 357 B.C. —— **Xenocraten**: after Plato, Speusippus was the first head of the Academic School; Xenocrates succeeded him. He lived from 397 to 315 or 313. —— **Zenonem**: of Citium in Cyprus, founder of Stoicism, born about 357, is said to have lived to the age of 98. —— **Cleanthen**: he followed Zeno in the presidency of the Stoic school. His age at death is variously given as 99 and as 80 years. —— **quem vidistis**: see Introd. It is rather curious that Cic. should make Cato speak with admiration of Diogenes, to whom he had shown great hostility. —— **Diogenen**: Cic. probably wrote in *-an*, *-en*, not in *-am*, *-em* the accusatives of Greek proper names in *-as*, *-es*. —— **Stoicum**: to distinguish him from Diogenes the Cynic. —— **agitatio**: Cic. uses *agitatio* and *actio* almost interchangeably; cf. *agitatio rerum* in De Or. 3, 88 with *actio rerum* in Acad. 2, 62 and elsewhere. *Actus* in this sense occurs only in silver Latin.

24. **age**: a common form of transition to a new subject; brief for '*hoc age*', 'do this', *i.e.* 'attend to this that I am going to say'. The common use of ἄγε in Greek is exactly similar. —— **ut . . . omittamus**: Cf. n. on 52 *ut*. —— **possum nominare**: 'I am able to name'; in colloquial English 'I *might* name'. The Latins occasionally use also a hypothetical form, where *possim* or *possem* stands in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, the protasis of which is not expressed; but the missing protasis is generally easily supplied and was distinctly present to the writer's mind. *E.g.* in Tusc. 1, 88 we have *dici hoc in te non potest; posset in Tarquinio; at in mortuo ne intellegi quidem* (*potest*), where the reason for the change from *potest* to *posset* is quite evident. In translating from English into Latin it is far safer to use the indicative. Cf. 55 *possum persequi*. A. 311, *c*; G. 599, Rem. 3; H. 511, 1, n. 3, 476, 4. —— **ex agro . . . Romanos**: 'country-bred Romans (*i.e.* Roman citizens) belonging to the Sabine district'. The words *ex agro Sabino* form an attributive phrase qualifying *Romanos* just as *rusticos* does. —— **numquam fere**: 'scarcely ever'. —— **maiora opera**: 'farm work of any importance'. This use of *opera* is common in Vergil's Georgics. —— **non**: the repetition of the nega-

tive after *numquam* is common in Latin; in English *never ... not* is found in dialects only. Cf. Lael. 48 *non tantum ... non plus quam.* —— **serendis**: ablative of respect; 'as regards sowing'. See Roby, 1210; Kennedy, 149. —— **percipiendis**: so 70; cf. N. D. 2, 156 *neque enim serendi neque colendi, nec tempestive demetendi percipiendique fructus, neque condendi nec reponendi ulla pecudum scientia est.* —— **in aliis**: see n. on 3 *ceteris.* Notice the proleptic use. —— **idem**: a better form of the plural than *iidem*, commonly found in our texts. For the use here cf. n. on 4 *eandem.* —— **pertinere**: present for future. —— **serit ... prosint**: the line is given as Ribbeck prints it. He scans it as a '*bacchius*', consisting of four feet, with the measurement ⏑ – –, the last syllable of *saeclo* seeming to be shortened. Cicero quotes the same line in Tusc. 1, 31 adding *ut ait* (*Statius*) *in Synephebis, quid spectans nisi etiam postera saecla ad se pertinere? Saeclo* = 'generation'. For mood of *prosint* see A. 317; G. 632; H. 497, I. —— **Statius noster**: 'our fellow-countryman Statius'. So Arch. 22 *Ennius noster.* Caecilius Statius, born among the Insubres, wrote Latin comedies which were largely borrowed from the Greek of Menander. The original of the *Synephebi* was Menander's Συνέφηβοι 'young comrades'. See Sellar, Rom. Poets of the Rep., Ch. 7.

P. 11. — 25. **dis**: the spellings *diis, dii* which many recent editors still keep, are probably incorrect; at all events it is certain that the nominative and ablative plural of *deus* formed *monosyllables*, except occasionally in poetry, where *dei, deis* were used. Even these *dissyllabic* forms scarcely occur before Ovid. —— **et**: emphatic at the beginning of a sentence: 'aye, and'. —— **melius**: *sc. dixit.* —— **illud**: 'the following'. A. 102, *b*; G. 292, 4; H. 450, 3. —— **idem**: *īdem*, not *ĭdem.* —— **edepol**: literally, 'ah, god Pollux', *e* being an interjection, *de* a shortened form of the vocative of *deus*, *pol* abbreviated from *Pollux*. The asseveration is mostly confined to comedy. The lines come from a play by Statius called *Plocium* (πλοκίον 'necklace'), copied from one by Menander with the same title; see Ribbeck's 'Fragmenta.' The verses are iambic trimeters. A. 365; G. 754; H. 622. —— **nil quicquam**: see n. on 21 *quemquam senem;* cf. the common expression *nemo homo;* 84 *nemo vir* etc., where two substantival words are placed side by side. —— **viti**: see n. on 1, l. 3 *praemi. Viti* here = *mali;* cf. Ter. Andr. 73 *ei vereor ne quid Andria adportet mali.* —— **sat est**: *sat* for *satis* in Cicero's time was old-fashioned

and poetical. —— **quod diu**: these words must be scanned as a spondee. The *i* in *diu* here probably had the sound of our *y*. A. 347, *c*; G. 717; H. 608, III. n. 2. Allen well compares a line of Publilius Syrus *heu quam multa paenitenda incurrunt vivendo diu*. —— **volt**: indefinite subject. —— **videt**: Tischer quotes Herod. 1, 32 (speech of Solon to Croesus) ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἔστιν ἰδέειν, τὰ μή τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθέειν. —— **tum equidem** etc.: these lines, as well as those above, occurred in a play of Statius called *Ephesio*: see Ribbeck's 'Fragmenta'. —— **senecta**: not used by prose writers before the time of silver Latin. —— **deputo**: this compound is used by the dramatists and then does not occur again till late Latin times. —— **eumpse**: like *ipse* and *reapse* (for which see n. on Lael. 47) this word contains the enclitic particle *pe* (probably another form of *que*), found in *nem-pe*, *quis-p-iam* etc., along with *se*, which belongs to an old demonstrative pronoun once declined *ses*, *su*, *sum*, the masc. and fem. of which are seen in ὅ, ἥ. The form was no doubt originally *eumpsum*, like *ipsom* (*ipsum*), but has passed into its present form just as *ipsos* (nom.) became *ipso*, then *ipse*. The only difference in sense between *eumpse* and the simple *eum* is that the former is more emphatic. The pronoun *eumpse* is the subject of the infinitive *sentire*, but the substantive, *senex*, to which the pronoun refers, is not expressed. —— **odiosum**: cf. n. on 4.

26. iucundum ... odiosum: elliptic, = '*iucundum*' *potius quam* '*odiosum*' *senem esse dicendum est*. —— **ut ... delectantur**: cf. Lael. 101; also below, 29 —— **sapientes senes**: neither of these words is used as an adjective here; the whole expression = *sapientes, cum facti sunt senes*. —— **levior**: cf. the fragm. of Callimachus: γηράσκει δ' ὁ γέρων κεῖνος ἐλαφρότερον, τὸν κοῦροι φιλέουσι. —— **coluntur et diliguntur**: *colere* rather implies the external marks of respect (cf. *coli* in 7), *diligere* the inner feeling of affection. —— **praeceptis** etc.: cf. Off. 1, 122 *iuventis enim aetatis inscitia senum constituenda et regenda prudentia est*. —— **me ... iucundos**: put for *me iucundum esse quam vos mihi estis iucundi*. The attraction of a finite verb into the infinitive after *quam* is not uncommon; cf. n. on 1 *quibus me ipsum*. Roby, 1784, *b*; A. 336, *b*, Rem; H. 524, 1, 2). *Minus*, be it observed, does not qualify *intellego*, but *iucundos*. —— **sed**: here *analeptic, i. e.* it introduces a return to the subject proper after a digression; so in 31. —— **videtis, ut ... sit**: here *ut* = *quo modo*; 'how'. **senectus ... cuiusque**: the abstract *senectus* is put for *senes* as in 34;

hence *cuiusque, sc. sensis.* So above *adulescentia* = *adulescentes.* —— **agens aliquid**: this phrase differs from *agat* in that while the subjunctive would express the *fact* of action, the participial phrase expresses rather the constant *tendency* to act. *Agens aliquid* forms a sort of attribute to *senectus*, parallel with *operosa*. *Moliri* differs from *agere* in that it implies the bringing into existence of some object. Cf. Off. 3, 102 *agere aliquid et moliri volunt;* Acad. 2, 22 *ut moliatur aliquid et faciat:* N. D. 1, 2 *utrum di nihil agant, nihil moliantur;* Mur. 82 *et agant et moliantur.* —— **quid . . . aliquid**: for the ellipsis in *quid qui* cf. n. on 22 *quid . . .* *Addiscunt* = προμανθάνουσι = learn on and on, go on learning. —— **ut . . . videmus**: put, as Allen observes, for *ut Solon fecit, quem videmus.* —— **Solonem**: see also 50. The line (*versibus* here is an exaggeration; in 50 it is *versiculus*) is preserved by Plato in his Timaeus and by Plutarch, Sol. 31 γηράσκω δ' ἀεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος. The age of Solon at his death is variously given as 80 or 100 years. —— **videmus**: the Latins frequently use 'we see' for 'we read'. See n. on Lael. 39, also below, 69 *ut scriptum video.* —— **gloriantem**: A. 292, *e*; G. 536, 527, Rem. 1; H. 535, I. 4. Notice the change to the infinitive in *uti* below. —— **senex**: *i. e. cum senex essem;* so 27 *adulescens desiderabam;* 30 *memini puer.* Plutarch (Cato 2) gives an account of Cato's study of Greek in his old age. —— **sic**: this word does not qualify *avide*, but refers on to *quasi*, so that *sic . . . quasi cupiens* = 'thus, *viz.* like one desiring'. Cf. n. on 12 *ita cupide fruebar quasi;* also 35 *tamquam . . . sic.* *Quasi* serves to soften the metaphor in *sitim;* cf. n. on Lael. 3. —— **cupiens**: after *quasi* a finite verb (*cuperem*) would have been more usual, as in 12 *ita . . . quasi divinarem.* Cf. however 22 *quasi desipientem.* —— **ea ipsa mihi**: for the juxtaposition of pronouns, which is rather sought after in Latin, cf. 72 *ipsa suum eadem quae.* —— **exemplis**: = *pro exemplis*, or *exemplorum loco* (cf. n. on 21 *Lysimachum*), so that those editors are wrong who say that we have here an example of the antecedent thrust into the relative clause, as though *ea ipsa quibus exemplis* were put for *ea ipsa exempla quibus.* —— **quod**: = *ut eum iam senex esset disceret.* —— **Socraten**: Cic. probably learned this fact from Plato's Menexenus 235 E and Euthydemus 272 C where Connus is named as the teacher of Socrates in music. In the Euthydemus Socrates says that the boys attending Connus' lessons laughed at him and called Connus γεροντοδιδάσκαλον. Cf. also Fam. 9, 22, 3 *Socraten fidibus docuit nobilissimus fidicen; is Connus vocitatus est;* Val.

Max. 8, 7, 8. —— **in fidibus**: 'in the case of the lyre'. Tücking quotes Quintilian 9, 2, 5 *quod in fidibus fieri videmus*. The Greek word *cithara* is not used by Cicero and does not become common in Latin prose till long after Cicero's time, though he several times uses the words *citharoedus*, *citharista*, when referring to Greek professional players. The word *lyra* too is rare in early prose; it occurs in Tusc. 1, 4 in connection with a Greek, where in the same sentence *fides* is used as an equivalent. —— **audirem**: for *audire* = *legendo cognoscere* see n. on 20. —— **vellem**: *sc. si possem*. —— **discebant ... antiqui**: doubts have been felt as to the genuineness of the clause. In Tusc. 4, 3 a passage of Cato is quoted which refers to the use of the *tibia* among the ancient Romans; immediately afterwards the antiquity of practice on the *fides* at Rome is mentioned, though not expressly on Cato's authority. The words cannot be said to be unsuited either to the person or to the occasion. —— **discebant ... fidibus**: the verb *canere*, which means 'to play' as well as 'to sing', must be supplied; *fidibus* is then an ablative of the means or instrument. There is the same ellipsis of *canere* in the phrases *docere fidibus* (Fam. 9, 22, 3) and *scire fidibus* (Terence, Eunuchus 133). Cf. Roby, 1217.

P. 12. — 27. ne ... quidem: these two words together correspond to the Greek οὐδέ (οὐ = *ne*, δέ = *quidem*), and are best translated here by 'nor' rather than by 'not even'. The rendering 'not even', though required by some passages, will often misrepresent the Latin. —— **locus**: *locus* (like τόπος in Greek) is a rhetorical term with a technical meaning. The pleader is to anticipate the arguments he may find it necessary to use in different cases, and is to arrange them under certain heads; each head is called a τόπος or *locus*, meaning literally the *place* where a pleader is to look for an argument when wanted. Hence *locus* came to mean 'a cut-and-dried argument' or, as here, a 'commonplace'. It is often found in Cicero's rhetorical writings. —— **non plus quam**: 'any more than'. After the negative *ne* above it is incorrect to translate *non* by a negative in English, though the repetition of the negative is common enough in Latin, as in some English dialects. Cf. n. on 24. *Plus* here = *magis*. —— **quod est**: *sc. tibi*, 'what you have', so Paradoxa 18 and 52 *satis esse, quod est*. —— **agas**: *quisquis* is generally accompanied by the indicative, as in Verg. Aen. 2, 49 *quidquid id est* etc.; see Roby, 1697; A. 309, *c*; G. 246, 4; H. 476, 3. The subjunctive is here used, with the imaginary second person, to render prominent the hypothetical and indefinite character of the

verb statement. Roby, 1544-1546; Madvig, 370, 494, Obs. 5, (6). —— **vox**: 'utterance'; the word is used only of speeches in some way specially remarkable. —— **contemptior**: 'more despicable'. The passive participle of *contemno* has the sense of an adjective in *-bilis*, like *invictus* and many others. —— **Milonis**: the most famous of the Greek athletes. He lived at the end of the sixth century B. C., and the praises of his victories were sung by Simonides. It was under his leadership that his native city Croton, in Magna Graecia, attacked and destroyed Sybaris. Many stories are told by the ancients about his feats of strength (see 33), and about his power of consuming food. He is said to have been a prominent disciple of Pythagoras. —— **illacrimans**: beware of spelling *lacrima* with either *ch* for *c* or *y* for *i*: these spellings are without justification. The *y* rests on the absurd assumption that the Latins borrowed their word *lacrima* straight from the Greek δάκρυ. —— **dixisse**: combinations like *dicitur dixisse* are exceedingly rare in good Latin. Cicero nearly always uses two different verbs; *i. e.* he says *aiunt dicere* and the like. —— **at**: there is an ellipsis here such as 'those young men's muscles are powerful but . . .'. This elliptic use of *at* is common in sudden exclamations of grief, annoyance, surprise etc. —— **vero**: this is common in emphatic replies, whether the reply convey assent, or, as here, a retort. The usage is well illustrated in Nägelsbach's Stilistik, § 197, 2. —— **tam**: *sc. mortui sunt.* —— **nugator**: *nugari* = ληρεῖν, 'to trifle'. —— **ex te**: Cato here identifies a man's person with his soul and intellect, the body being regarded as a mere dress; cf. Rep. 6, 26 *mens cuiusque is est quisque. Ex te*, literally, 'out of yourself', *i. e.* 'from your real self's resources'. —— **lateribus**: see n. on 14. —— **Aelius**: his *cognomen* was Paetus; he was consul in 198, and censor in 194 B. C. He was one of the earliest and most famous writers on Roman Law. His great commentary on the XII tables is often referred to by Cicero, who several times quotes Ennius' line about him — *egregie cordatus homo catus Aelius Sextus.* —— **tale**: *sc. dixit.* —— **Coruncanius**: n. on 15. —— **P. Crassus**: consul in 205 B. C. with the elder Africanus; pontifex maximus from 212 to his death in 183. He was famous both as a lawyer (see below, 50; also Liv. 30, 1, 5 *iuris pontifici peritissimus*) and as a statesman (see 61). *Modo* therefore covers a space of at least 33 years, so that it cannot well be translated by our 'lately'; say rather 'nearer our time'. The amount of time implied by *modo* and *nuper* depends entirely on the context; for *modo* see Lael. 6 with

note, for *nuper* below, n. on 61, where it is used of Crassus as *modo* is here. —— **praescribebantur**: the meaning is that these lawyers practised in old age as jurisconsults; *i. e.* according to old Roman custom, they gave audience in the early hours of the day to all who chose to consult them about legal difficulties. —— **est provecta**: literally 'was carried forward', *i. e.* 'continued', 'remained'. Some wrongly take the phrase to mean 'made progress', 'increased', a sense which would require the imperfect, *provehebatur*. —— **prudentia**: here, as often, 'legal skill'.

28. orator: emphatic position. —— **senectute**: causal ablative; not 'in age', but 'owing to age'. —— **omnino — sed tamen**: 'no doubt — but still'. *Omnino* (literally, 'altogether') has two almost exactly opposite uses — (1) the affirmative, cf. 9; (2) the concessive, which we have here and in 45. The circumstance which is contrasted with the admitted circumstance is usually introduced by *sed tamen* or *sed* as in 45, but in Lael. 98 by the less emphatic *autem*, while in Lael. 69 there is no introductory particle. —— **canorum ... senectute**: *canorum* implies the combination of power with clearness in a voice. For the mixture of metaphors in *canorum splendescit* edd. quote Soph. Phil. 189 ἀχὼ τηλεφανής; Cic. De Or. 2, 60 *illorum tactu orationem meam quasi colorari*. —— **nescio quo pacto**: literally, 'I know not on what terms'; quite interchangeable with *nescio quo modo;* cf. 82. A. 334, *e*; G. 469, Rem. 2; H. 529, 5, 3). —— **adhuc non**: purposely put for *nondum*, because more emphasis is thus thrown both on the time-word and on the negation. The common view that *nondum* was avoided because it would have implied that Cato *expected* to lose the *canorum* is certainly wrong. —— **et videtis**: 'though you see my years'. The adversative use of *et* for *autem* or *tamen* after the negative is not very uncommon in Cicero, but there are few examples of the usage in the speeches. Cf. Lael. 26 *et quidquid;* so sometimes *quc* as above, 13; also Lael. 30 *ut nullo egeat suaque omnia in se posita iudicet*. —— **seni**: Madvig's em. for *senis*. In Leg. 1, 11 allusion is made to the great change which advancing years had wrought in Cicero's own impassioned oratory. He was no doubt thinking of that change when he wrote the words we have here. —— **sermo**: 'style of speaking'; a word of wider meaning than *oratio*, which only denotes public speaking. —— **quietus et remissus**: 'subdued and gentle'. The metaphor in *remissus* (which occurs also in 81) refers to the loosening of a tight-stretched string; cf. *intentum* etc. in 37 with

n. With the whole passage cf. Plin. Ep. 3, 1, 2 *nam iuvenes confusa adhuc quaedam et quasi turbata non indecent; senibus placida omnia et ordinata conveniunt.* —— **facit audientiam**: 'procures of itself a hearing for it'. In the words *per se ipsa* there is no doubt an allusion to the custom at large meetings in ancient times whereby the *praeco* or κῆρυξ called on the people to listen to the speakers. Cf. Liv. 43, 16, 8 *praeconem audientiam facere iussit.* Note that this is the only classical use of the word *audientia;* it has not the meaning of our 'audience' either in the sense of a body of listeners, or as used in the expression 'to give audience'. —— **composita et mitis**: 'unimpassioned and smooth'. Cf. Quintil. 6, 2, 9 *affectus igitur hos concitatos, illos mitis atque compositos esse dixerunt.* —— **quam ... nequeas**: 'and if you cannot practise oratory yourself'. Evidently *quam* refers to *oratio* in the widest sense, not to the special style of oratory mentioned in the last sentence. With *si nequeas* cf. *nisi exercecas* in 21 with n. —— **Scipioni et Laelio**: '*a* Scipio and *a* Laelius'; *i. e.* 'young friends such as Scipio and Laelius are to me'. —— **praecipere**: here absolute, = *praecepta dare;* usually an accusative follows. —— **studiis iuventutis**: 'the zeal of youth'. *Studiis* does not imply here the deference of youth to age; the *studia* meant are the *virtutum studia* of 26.

29. ne ... instruat: *docere* is to impart knowledge, *instituere* (literally 'to ground' or 'establish') is to form the intellect and character by means of knowledge, *instruere*, to teach the pupil how he may bring his acquirements to bear in practical life. —— **offici munus**: 'performance of duty'; cf. 35, 72; Fam. 6, 14. In scores of passages in Cicero we find *officium et munus*, 'duty and function', as in 34. —— **Cn. et P. Scipiones**: in Cic. the plural is always used where two men of the same family are mentioned and their names connected by *et*. In other writers the plural is regular, the singular exceptional, as in Sall. Iug. 42, 1 *Ti. et C. Gracchus;* Liv. 6, 22 *Sp. et L. Papirius.* Even with other nouns the plural is regular; *e. g.* Cic. Phil. 2, 101 *arationes Campana et Leontina*, though a little above we have *mense Aprili atque Maio.* [See Draeger, Hist. Synt. I², p. 1.] Gnaeus (*not* Cnaeus — see n. on Lael. 3) Cornelius Scipio was consul in 222 B. C. and was sent to Spain at the outbreak of the Second Punic war to command against Hasdrubal. Publius was consul in 218, and after being defeated by Hannibal at the Ticinus, joined his brother in Spain. At first they won important successes, but in 212 they were

hemmed in and killed, after a crushing defeat. —— **L. Aemilius**: the father of Macedonicus. He was consul in 219 and defeated the Illyrii; but when consul again in 216 was defeated and killed at Cannae. See 75. For *avi duo* cf. 82. —— **consenuerint ... defecerint**: *coniunctio*, for which see n. on 16. For the mood see A. 313, *a*; G. 608; H. 515, III. and n. 3. —— **etsi**: see n. on 2. —— **senectute**: MSS. and edd. have *senectutis*, but the sense requires the abl.

P. 13. — 30. Cyrus: the elder. —— **apud Xenophontem**: 'in Xenophon'; so in 79 where see n.; also 31 *apud Homerum*. See Cyropaedia, 8, 7, 6. —— **cum ... esset**: '*though* he was very old', the clause depends on the following words, not on the preceding. —— **negat**: in Latin as in English the present tense is used in quotations from books. —— **Metellum**: was consul in 251 B. C. and won a great victory over the Carthaginians at Panormus (Palermo); consul again in 247. See below, 61. —— **memini ... esse**: for the construction of *memini* with the present or perfect infinitive, see n. on Lael. 2; also A. 288, *b*; G. 277, Rem.; H. 537, 1. —— **puer**: the expression is peculiar, being abbreviated from *quod puer vidi* or something of the kind. Quintil. 8, 3, 31 has *memini iuvenis*. In Rep. 1, 23 Cicero says *memini me admodum adulescentulo*. —— **viginti et duos**: the commoner order of the words is *duos et viginti*; see n. on 13 *centum ... annos*. —— **ei sacerdotio**: 'that sacred college'; *i. e.* the pontifical college consisting of the *pontifex maximus* and the inferior *pontifices*. —— **requireret**: see n. on 13 *quaereretur*. —— **nihil**: n. on 1, l. 1 *quid*. —— **mihi**: dat. for acc. to emphasize the person. —— **id**: 'such a course'; cf. 82 *ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier*.

31. videtisne ut: here *ne* is the equivalent of *nonne*, as it often is in the Latin of Plautus and Terence, and in the colloquial Latin of the classical period. For *ut* after *videtis* see n. on 26. —— **Nestor**: *e. g.* in Iliad 1, 260 *et seq.*; 11, 668 *et seq.* —— **tertiam aetatem**: cf. Iliad 1, 250; Odyssey 3, 245. —— **vera ... se**: 'if he told the truth about himself'. —— **nimis**: 'to any great extent'. *Insolens* does not correspond to our 'insolent'; it is almost the equivalent of *ineptus*, and has no harsher meaning than 'odd', 'strange', 'in bad taste'. —— **melle dulcior**: Homer, Il. 1, 249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή. In Or. 32 Cic. says of Xenophon (whom the Greeks called Ἀττικὴ μέλιττα) that his *oratio* was *melle dulcior*. —— **suavitatem**: notice the change from *dulcior*, which seems to be made for the mere sake of variety, since elsewhere (De Or. 3, 161) Cicero

writes *dulcitudo orationis.* —— **et tamen**: see n. on 16. —— **dux ille**: Agamemnon; see Iliad 2, 370 *et seq.* —— **nusquam**: *i. e.* nowhere in Homer. —— **Aiacis**: *i. e.* Aiax Telamonius, who was the greatest Greek warrior while Achilles sulked (Iliad 2, 768). The genitive after *similis* is the rule in Cicero, though many examples of the dative are found even with names of persons; see Madv. on Fin. 5, 12.

32. sed: see n. on 26. —— **redeo ad me**: so 45; Lael. 96, Div. 1, 97 *ad nostra iam redeo;* also below, 67 *sed redeo ad mortem impendentem.* —— **vellem**: see n. on 26. —— **idem**: A. 238; G. 331, Rem. 2; H. 371, 2. —— **quod Cyrus**: see 30. —— **queo**: the verb *queo* is rarely found without a negative, *possum* being used in positive sentences; cf. however Lael. 71 *queant*, where see n. —— **miles** etc.: see 10 above. —— **fuerim ... depugnavi**: A. 336, *b*; G. 630, Rem. 1; H. 524, 2, 2). *Depugnavi* = 'fought the war out', or '*to the end*'; cf. 38, *desudans;* 44 *devicerat.* —— **enervavit**: *enervare* is literally 'to take out the sinews'; cf. the expressions *nervos elidere* (Tusc. 2, 27) and *nervos incidere* (Academ. 1, 35) both of which are used in a secondary or metaphorical sense. —— **curia**: = *senatus.* —— **rostra**: cf. n. on 44 *devicerat.* —— **fieri**: A. 331, *a*; G. 546, Rem. 1; H. 498, I. n. —— **esse**: emphatic, = *vivere;* see n. on 21. —— **ego vero** etc.: 'I however would rather that my old age should be shorter than that I should be old before my time'. —— **mallem**: see n. on 26 *vellem.*

P. 14. — **nemo cui fuerim**: cf. Plaut. Mercator 2, 2, 17 *quamquam negotium est, numquam sum occupatus amico operam dare.*

33. at: as in 21, where see n. —— **T. Ponti centurionis**: the centurions were generally men of powerful frame; cf. Veget. 2, 14 *centurio elegendus est, qui sit magnis viribus et procera statura;* Philipp. 8, 26 *centuriones pugnaces et lacertosos;* Horat. Sat. 1, 6, 72. —— **moderatio**: 'a right application'; literally 'a governing'. —— **tantum ... nitatur**: cf. 27 *quidquid agas agere pro viribus*, also 34 *quantum possumus.* —— **ne**: the affirmative *ne*, often wrongly written *nae* on the absurd assumption that the word passed into Latin from the Greek *ναί*, is in Cicero always and in other writers nearly always followed by a pronoun. For the form of the sentence here cf. Fam. 7, 1, 3 *ne ... nostrum;* Tusc. 3, 8 *ne ista* etc.; Fin. 3, 11 (almost the same words). —— **per stadium**: 'over the course'; cf. Athenaeus 10, 4, p. 412 E; Lucian, Charon, 8; Quint. 1, 9, 5 *Milo quem vitulum*

assueverat ferre, taurum ferebat. As to Milo see n. on 27. For *cum sustineret* a modern would have been inclined to use a participle, which was perhaps avoided here because of the close proximity of another participle, *ingressus.* —— **umeris**: this spelling is better than *humeris*, which is now abandoned by the best scholars. There is no sound corresponding to the *h* in words of the same origin in cognate languages (see Curtius, Greek Etym. 1, 423 of the Eng. Trans.), and although undoubtedly *h* was wrongly attached to some Latin words, there is no evidence to show that this happened to *umerus.* —— **has**: *i. e. Milonis*, corresponding to *Pythagorae.* —— **Pythagorae**: chosen no doubt because tradition made Milo a Pythagorean; see n. on 27. —— **malis**: *i. e. si optandum sit* (cf. Plaut. Miles 170). For the ellipsis see n. on 26. —— **denique**: 'in short'. —— **utare**: the second person of the present subjunctive hortative is very rare, excepting when, as here, the command is general. Had the command been addressed to a particular person, Cicero might have written *ne requisieris.* Cf. Madvig, Opusc. 2, 105; Roby, 1596; A. 266, *a*, *b*; G. 256, 2; H. 484, 4, n. 2. —— **dum adsit, cum absit**: as both *dum* and *cum* evidently have here a temporal sense, the subjunctives seem due to the influence of the other subjunctives *utare* and *requiras.* A. 342; G. 666; H. 529, II. and n. 1, 1). —— **nisi forte**: see n. on 18. —— **cursus**: for the metaphor cf. n. on 83; also Fam. 8, 13, 1 (a letter of Coelius) *aetate iam sunt decursa;* pro Quint. 99 *acta aetas decursaque.* For *certus* cf. below, 72 *senectutis certus terminus.* —— **aetatis**: here = *vitae;* see n. on 5. —— **eaque**: this is a common way of introducing with emphasis a fresh epithet or predicate. Often *idque* (καὶ τοῦτο) occurs, the pronoun being then adverbially used, and not in agreement with the subject. Cf. n. on 65 *illius quidem;* also *neque ea* in 22. —— **simplex**: life is compared to a race, in which each man has to run once and only once around the course. —— **tempestivitas**: 'seasonableness'; cf. 5 *maturitate tempestiva*, with n. —— **infirmitas**: the context shows that not physical but intellectual weakness is meant; so in Acad. 2, 9 *infirmissimo tempore aetatis;* Fin. 5, 43 *aetas infirma.* —— **ferocitas**: 'exultation', 'high spirit'. —— **iam constantis aetatis**: *i. e.* middle age, the characteristic of which is *stability;* cf. 76 *constans aetas quae media dicitur;* also 60; Tac. A. 6, 46 *composita aetas.* For *iam* cf. Suet. Galb. 4 *aetate nondum constanti;* pro Caelio 41 *aetas iam corroborata;* Fam. 10, 3, 2 *aetas iam confirmata.* —— **maturitas**: 'ripeness', *i. e.* of intellect or judgment. —— **suo**: G. 295, Rem. 1; H. 449, 2.

34. audire te arbitror: 'I think that news reaches you'. —— **hospes**: see n. on 28 *orator*. —— **avitus**: there was a strong friendship between the elder Africanus and Masinissa, king of Numidia, who in 206 B. C. passed over from the Carthaginian alliance to that of the Romans. He was richly rewarded by Scipio, and remained loyal to Rome till his death. He lived to welcome the younger Scipio in Africa during the last Punic war, and to see the utter ruin of Carthage. See Sall. Iug. 5, 4. For the expression *hospes tuus avitus* cf. Plautus, Miles 135 *paternum suom hospitem*. —— **cum ingressus** etc.: *i. e.* protracted exercise of one kind did not weary him. —— **cum ... equo**: though Cic. says *in equo vehi, esse, sedere* etc. the preposition here is left out because a mere ablative of manner or means is required to suit the similar ablative *pedibus*. So Div. 2, 140 *equus in quo vehebar*, 'the horse on which I rode'; but ib. 1, 58 *equo advectus ad ripam*, 'brought to the bank *by the aid* of a horse'. —— **siccitatem**: 'wiriness', literally 'dryness' or freedom from excessive perspiration, colds and the like; cf. Tusc. 5, 99 *siccitatem quae consequitur continentiam in victu;* Catull. 23, 12 *corpora sicciora cornu*. —— **regis**: here = *regia*. —— **officia et munera**: see n. on 29. —— **ne sint**: 'grant that age has no strength'. This formula of concession for argument's sake is frequent in Cicero, who often attaches to it *sane*. A. 266, *d*; G. 610; H. 515, III. —— **senectute** = *senibus*: see n. on 26. —— **legibus et institutis**: 'by statute and precedent'. —— **muneribus eis** etc.: chiefly military service. —— **non modo ... sed ne quidem**: when a negative follows *non modo* these words have the force of *non modo non*, a negative being borrowed from the negative in the subsequent clause. But often *non modo non* is written; the negative after *modo* is then more emphatic, being independent. Here *non modo non quod non* would have had a harsh sound. A. 149, *e*; G. 484, 3 and Rem. 1.; H. 552, 2. —— **quod**: adv. acc. (see n. on 1 *quid*). Cf. Liv. 6, 15 *sed vos id cogendi estis*.

35. at: as in 21, where see n. In his reply Cato adopts the same form as that in which the objection is urged, *at id quidem* etc. So in 68 *at senex ... at est ...*

P. 15. — **commune valetudinis**: 'common to weak health', *i. e.* to all in a weak state of health. *Valetudo* means in itself neither good nor bad health; the word takes its coloring from the context. —— **filius is qui**: a pause must be made at *filius*; the sense is not 'that son of Africanus who adopted you', but 'the son of Africanus, I mean

the man who adopted you'. —— **quod ni ita fuisset**: 'now if this had not been so'; a phrase like *quod cum ita sit* and *hoc ita dici*. Cf. also 67 *quod ni ita accideret*; 82 *quod ni ita se haberet*. —— **alterum ... civitatis**: *illud* is put for *ille*, by attraction to *lumen*. Roby, 1068. A. 195, *d*; G. 202, Rem. 5; H. 445, 4. Cf. Fin. 2, 70 *Epicurus, hoc enim vestrum lumen est*, 'Epicurus, for *he* is your shining light'. —— **vitia**: 'defects'. —— **diligentia**: scarcely corresponds to our 'diligence'; it rather implies minute, patient attention; 'painstaking'.

36. habenda ... valetudinis: 'attention must be paid to health'; so *valetudini consulere* (Fam. 16, 4, 3) *operam dare* (De Or. 1, 265) *indulgere* (Fam. 16, 18, 1) *valetudinem curare* often; cf. also Fam. 10, 35, 2; Fin. 2, 64. —— **tantum**: restrictive, = 'only so much'; so in 69, and often. —— **potionis**: *cibus et potio* is the regular Latin equivalent for our 'food and drink'; see below, 46; also Tusc. 5, 100; Fin. 1, 37; Varro de Re Rust. 1, 1, 5. —— **adhibendum**: *adhibere* has here merely the sense of 'to employ' or 'to use'. Cf. Fin. 2, 64. —— **non**: we should say 'and not' or 'but not'; the Latins, however, are fond of *asyndeton*, called *adversativum*, when two clauses are contrasted. —— **menti ... animo**: properly *mens* is the intellect, strictly so called, *animus* intellect and feeling combined, but the words are often very loosely used. They often occur together in Latin; Lucretius has even *mens animi*. —— **instilles**: see n. on 21 *exercens*. —— **et**: 'moreover'. —— **exercitando**: in good Latin the verb *exercitare* is rare except in *exercitatus*, which stands as participle to *exerceo*, *exercitus* being unused. The word seems to have been chosen here as suiting *exercitationibus* better than *exercendo* would. So in 47 *desideratio* is chosen rather than *desiderium*, to correspond with the neighboring *titillatio*. —— **ait**: *sc. esse*; the omission with *aio* is rare, though common with *dico*, *appello* etc.; see n. on 22. —— **comicos**: not 'comic' in our sense, but = *in comoediis*, 'represented in comedy'. So Rosc. Am. 47 *comicum adulescentem*, 'the young man of comedy'. The passage of Caecilius (see n. on 24 *Statius*) is more fully quoted in Lael. 99. —— **credulos**: in almost every Latin comedy there is some old man who is cheated by a cunning slave. —— **somniculosae**: the adj. contains a diminutive noun stem (*somniculo-*). —— **petulantia**: 'waywardness'. —— **non proborum**: Cic. avoids *improborum* as being too harsh; with exactly similar feeling Propertius 3, 20, 52 (ed. Paley) says *nec proba Pasiphae* for *et improba P.* Cf. Off. 3, 36 *error hominum non proborum*. —— **ista**: implying contempt. A. 102, *c*; G. 291, Rem.;

H. 450, 1. n. and foot-note 4. —— **deliratio**: 'dotage'; a rare word, used by Cic. only here and in Div. 2, 90.

37. robustos: 'sturdy'; implying that the sons were grown up. —— **tantam**: *sc. quantam habuit;* only a little more emphatic than *magnam* would have been; see n. on 52. —— **Appius**: see n. on 16. —— **regebat**: the *pater familias* in early Roman times was an almost irresponsible ruler over his children and household. For a full discussion of the *patria potestas* see Coulanges, Ancient City, Bk. II. Ch. 8; Maine, Ancient Law, Ch. 5; Hadley, Introd. to Roman Law, Chapters 5 and 6. —— **et ... senex**: 'though both blind and old'. —— **intentum**: commonly used of *animus*, like the opposite *remissus* (28). —— **tenebat** etc.: the *patria potestas* is often denoted by the word *imperium;* cf. De Invent. 2, 140 *imperium domesticum.* —— **vigebat** etc.: 'in him ancestral spirit and principles were strong'. While *animus patrius* here evidently means the strong will for which the patrician Claudii were proverbial (as *e. g.* in Rosc. Am. 46 *intellegere qui animus patrius sit in liberos*) it indicates the feeling of a particular father for his children.

P. 16. — 38. ita: = *ea lege* 'on these conditions, viz. ...', the clause with *si* being an explanation of *ita.* This correspondence of *ita ... si* is common in Cicero; see n. on 12 *ita ... quasi.* Here translate 'age can only be in honor if it fights for itself'. —— **se ipsa**: cf. Cic. Acad. 2, 36 *veritas se ipsa defendet;* see also the n. on 4. —— **si ... est**: 'if it has passed into bondage to nobody'. *Mancipium* is a piece of property; *emancipare* is to pass a piece of property out of its owner's hands. The word acquired two exactly opposite meanings. When used of a slave, or of a son *in patria potestate*, who was legally subject to many of the same ordinances as a slave, it means 'to set free', unless, as in Fin. 1, 24 *filium in adoptionem D. Silano emancipaverat*, some person is mentioned to whom the original owner makes over his rights. But in Plaut. Bacchid. 1, 1, 90 *mulier, tibi me emancupo* the sense is 'I enslave myself to you', *i. e.* 'I pass myself out of my own power into yours'. So in the well-known passage of Horace, Epod. 9, 12 (of Antony) *emancipatus feminae* 'enslaved to a woman'; cf. Cic. Phil. 2, 51 *venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum.* —— **senile aliquid ... aliquid adulescentis**: chiasmus. For the sense cf. 33 *ferocitas iuvenum ... senectutis maturitas.* —— **quod qui sequitur**: 'and he who strives after this', *i. e.* to combine the virtues of age and youth. Cf. Aesch. Sept. 622 *γέροντα τὸν νοῦν σάρκα δ' ἡβῶσαν φύει*

—— **mihi ... est in manibus**: 'I have on hand', 'am busy with'. Cf. n. on 22. —— **Originum**: as to Cato's literary labors see Introd. —— **omnia colligo**: referring to the materials Cato was collecting for his 'Origines'. —— **quascunque defendi**: 'as many as I have conducted'. *Defendere causam* here is simply to act as counsel in a case, whether the client be defendant or plaintiff. So in Lael. 96 and often. —— **nunc cum maxime**: 'now more than ever', *νῦν μάλιστα*. The phrase is elliptic; in full it would be '*cum maxime conficio orationes, nunc conficio*', 'when I most of all compose speeches, I now compose them'; *i. e.* 'the time when I most of all compose is now'. The words *cum maxime* generally follow *tum* or *nunc* and add emphasis to those words, but are sometimes used alone to express the ideas 'then' and 'now' more emphatically than *tum* and *nunc* would. Cf. Ver. 4, 82; Tac. Ann. 4, 27. The orators were in the habit of working over their speeches carefully for publication and preservation. —— **ius augurium** etc.: 'the law pertaining to the augurs and pontifices'; *i. e.* the principles applied by them in the performance of their duties. The pontifices had the general oversight of religious observances. See Dict. of Antiq. —— **civile**: the meaning of *ius civile* varies according to the context. Here it is the secular law as opposed to the sacred law, as in 50; sometimes it is the whole body of Roman law as opposed to the law of other states; often, again, it is the older portion of the Roman law as opposed to the newer or 'equity' portion. —— **commemoro**: 'I say over to myself'. In Cicero *commemoro* is a verb of speaking, and never has the meaning of *recordor* or *memini*. —— **curricula**: see nn. on 33. —— **magno opere**: better so written than in one word *magnopere;* so *maximo, minimo, nimio opere*. —— **adsum amicis**: 'I act as counsel to my friends'. This legal sense of *adesse* is common. —— **frequens**: literally the word means 'crowded' (connected with *farcire* 'to cram' or 'to crowd together'), hence *frequens senatus* and the like phrases. Then *frequens* comes to be used of actions or events that often recur; *e. g.* Orat. 15 *Demosthenes frequens Platonis auditor;* De Or. 1, 243 *frequens te audivi*. On the use of the adj. here see A. 191; G. 324, Rem. 6; H. 443. —— **ultro**: 'unasked', 'of my own motion', a reference to the well-known story that, whatever subject was discussed, Cato gave as his opinion '*delenda est Carthago*'. See Introd. —— **tueor**: 'advocate', 'support'. —— **lectulus**: a couch usually stood in the Roman study, on which the student reclined while reading, composing

or dictating, or even writing. Cf. De Or. 3, 17, *in eam exedram venisse in qua Crassus lectulo posito recubuisset, cumque eum in cogitatione defixum esse sensisset, statim recessisse* ...; Suet. Aug. 78 *lecticula lucubratoria.* —— **ea ipsa cogitantem** : = *de eis ipsis cog.*: so Acad. 2, 127 *cogitantes supera atque caelestia*, and often. —— **acta vita** : 'the life I have led'; cf. 62 *honeste acta superior aetas;* so Tusc. 1, 109; Fam. 4, 13, 4. —— **viventi** : dative of reference. A. 235; G. 354; H. 384, 4, n. 3. 'As regards one who lives amid these pursuits and tasks'. —— **ita sensim** etc.: *sensim sine sensu* (observe the alliteration) is like *mentes dementis* in 16, where see n. *Sensim* must have meant at one time 'perceptibly', then 'only just perceptibly', then 'gradually' and almost 'imperceptibly'.

39. quod ... dicunt : not strictly logical, being put for *quod careat, ut dicunt.* In cases like this the verb of saying is usually in the subjunctive. Cf. Roby, 1746; A. 341, Rem.; G. 541, Rem. 2; H. 516, II. 1. The indicative here is more vivid and forcible. —— **munus ... aufert** : to say that a gift robs one of anything is of course an *oxymoron;* cf. n. on 16 *mentes dementis.* —— **aetatis** : almost = *senectutis:* cf. n. on 45. —— **id quod est** etc.: 'the greatest fault of youth'; *i. e.* the love of pleasure. In this passage *voluptas* indicates pleasure of a sensual kind, its ordinary sense, *delectatio, oblectatio* etc. being used of the higher pleasures. In 51, however, we have *voluptates agricolarum.* —— **accipite** : 'hear'; so *dare* often means 'to tell'. With *accipere* in this sense cf. the similar use of ἀποδέχεσθαι. —— **Archytae** : Archytas (the subject of Horace's well-known ode, 1, 28) was a contemporary and friend of Plato, and a follower of the Pythagorean philosophy. He wrote philosophical works, and was also famous as a mathematician and astronomer, besides being the leading statesman and general of the commonwealth of Tarentum. For another saying of Archytas, cf. Lael. 88. —— **tradita est** : 'was imparted to me', *i. e.*, by word of mouth. —— **cum ... Tarenti** : 'when as a young man I stayed at Tarentum'. For *adulescens* cf. n. on 26 *senes.* —— **nullam ... pestem** etc.: cf. Lael. 34 *pestem ... cupiditatem;* Off. 2, 9 *consuetudo ... honestatem ab utilitate secernens, qua nulla pernicies maior hominum vitae potuit afferri.* —— **capitaliorem** : 'more deadly'; *caput* was often equivalent to *vita*, so that *capitalis* comes to mean 'affecting the life'.

P. 17.—40. hinc etc.: cf. Cic. Hortensius fragm. *quod turpe damnum, quod dedecus est quod non evocetur atque eliciatur voluptate?* Ob

serve the singular *patriae* followed by the plural *rerum publicarum*; the plural of *patria* is rare. On the significance of this passage see Lecky, Hist. of European Morals, I. p. 211, n. (Am. ed.). —— **cum hostibus** etc.: attributive phrase; cf. Phil. 12, 27 *colloquia cum acerrimis hostibus.* —— **scelus**: this word looks chiefly to the criminal intention, whether it be carried into action or not, *malum, facinus* to the completed crime; *flagitium* is sin rather than crime. *Facinus* in sense is often rather narrower and lighter than *scelus;* cf. Verr. 5, 170 *facinus est vincire civem Romanum, scelus verberare, prope parricidium necare.* —— **impelleret**: *sc. homines;* so *nos* is omitted after *iubebat* below. —— **excitari**: 'stirred up'. In 39 and 41 we have the verb *in-citare;* for the difference between the two verbs cf. Qu. Fr. 1, 1, 45 *haec non eo dicuntur, ut te oratio mea dormientem excitasse, sed potius ut currentem incitasse videatur.* —— **homini ... dedisset**: cf. Acad. 1, 7 *nec ullum arbitror maius aut melius a dis datum munus homini.* Notice *homini* 'man', in the same sense as *hominibus*, above. —— **muneri ac dono**: the two words *munus* and *donum* are often found together; the difference in meaning is hardly perceptible. *Donum* implies the fact of giving, *munus* the generosity of the giver. —— **tam ... inimicum**: notice the separation of *tam* from *inimicum.*

41. libidine: = ἐπιθυμία; *temperantia* = σωφροσύνη. *Dominari* is a very strong word, 'to tyrannize'; *dominatio* = τυραννίς. For *locum* cf. Lael. 52 *in tyranni vita nullus locus est amicitiae.* —— **consistere**: 'find a foothold'. Cf. Fin. 4, 69 *sapientia pedem ubi poneret non habebat.* —— **fingere animo**: 'to imagine'. —— **tanta ... quanta ... maxima**: 'the greatest that could possibly be enjoyed'. The form of expression is common, *e. g.* Lael. 74 *tanta quanta maxima potest esse distantia.* —— **tam diu dum**: this is not exactly equivalent to the ordinary *tam diu quam*, but there is ellipsis — 'so long as this, I mean while etc.'. Cf. Cat. 3, 16 *tam diu, dum urbis moenibus continebatur;* Off. 1, 2 *tam diu ... quoad ...* —— **mente ... ratione ... cogitatione**: 'by thought, by reasoning, by imagination'. *Cogitatio* like διάνοια has often the sense of 'imagination'. The close juxtaposition of words nearly synonymous is quite characteristic of Cicero's Latin. —— **quidem**: concessive, as in 32 and often. —— **maior atque longior**: 'very intense and protracted'. Superlatives might have been expected, in view of *quanta percipi posset maxima* above. *Longus* in the sense of 'long-continued' is rare in Ciceronian Latin, excepting when, as in 66 *longa aetate*, it is joined with a word dis-

tinctly referring to time. For the general drift of the passage cf. Cic. Hortensius (fragment) *congruere cum cogitatione magna voluptas corporis non potest; quis enim, cum utatur voluptate ea qua nulla possit maior esse, attendere animum, inire rationes, cogitare omnino quidquam potest?* —— **animi lumen**: a common metaphor; *e. g.* Cic. Rep. 6, 12 *tu, Africane, ostendas oportebit patriae lumen animi tui.* Cf. 36 *haec ... exstinguuntur;* also below, 42 *mentis oculos.* —— **C. Pontio**: C. Pontius Herennius, the father of C. Pontius Telesinus who defeated the Romans at the Caudine Forks during the Second Samnite war, in 321 B. C. The father is several times mentioned by Livy 9, cc. 1 and 3; cf. especially 1, § 2 *C. Pontium, patre longe prudentissimo natum.* —— **Nearchus**: mentioned by Plutarch, Cato 2, as a Pythagorean and friend of Cato. —— **permanserat**: *i. e.* during the siege of Tarentum. —— **interfuisset**: not in accordance with English idiom; cf. n. on 4 *putassent;* also 44 *devicerat.* —— **Plato** etc.: although Plato made two journeys to Italy and Sicily (or, as some authorities say, three) it is scarcely likely that he was present at Tarentum in the year mentioned, 349 B. C., two years before his death, when he was of advanced age. The latest date assigned by other authorities for Plato's last visit to the West is 361 B. C. —— **reperio**: *sc. in annalibus;* so in 15; cf. *videmus* in 26.

42. efficeret: *efficeret, liberet,* and *oporteret* can be properly rendered into English only by the present tense. Although these verbs express circumstances which *continue,* since the *general* effect of old age is being described, they are thrown into the past to suit the past tense *dicebam* or *dixi* which, though not expressed, is really the principal verb. Cf. below, 62, 78. —— **consilium**: 'deliberation'.

P. 18. — **ut ita dicam**: this softens the metaphor, as *quasi* or *quasi quidam* often does, and as οἷον, ὥσπερ do in Greek [but not ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, which is often wrongly said to be the equivalent of *ut ita dicam;* see n. on Lael. 2]. The phrase *mentis* or *animi aciem praestringere* often occurs without anything to soften the metaphor; *e. g.* Fin. 4, 37. —— **nec habet** etc.: 'and has no relations with virtue'. The use of *commercium* in the metaphorical sense is common. —— **invitus**: see ref. on 38 *frequens.* —— **feci ut**: a periphrasis not unusual. A. 332, *e*; G. 557; H. 498, II. n. 2. —— **T. Flaminini**: see n. on 1, l. 1. —— **L. Flamininum**: as prætor he commanded the fleet under his brother Titus during the Macedonian war; in 192 B. C. he was consul. *Septem annis* denotes seven *complete* years (cf. n. on 19), as

Cato was censor in 184. A reference to Livy 39, 43, 2 will show that Cicero borrows his account of Flamininus' crime from the old annalist Valerius Antias. Livy also quotes (39, 42, 7) an account of the matter given by Cato himself in a speech, which is even more disgraceful to Flamininus. —— **eicerem**: the phrase commonly used is not *eicere*, but *movere*, *aliquem senatu*. *Notare* and *nota* (*censoria*) are technically used of degradation or disfranchisement inflicted by the censors. For the spelling see Roby, 144, 2; A. 10, *d*; H. 36, 4 and foot-note 1. —— **fuisset**: for the mood see A. 342; G. 666; H. 529, II. and n. 1, 1); for the tense see Roby, 1491; A. 324, *a*; G. 233, 2; H. 471, 4. —— **cum ... Gallia**: not 'when he was consul in Gaul' but 'when he was in Gaul during his consulship'. *Cum* with the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive often has a sense differing very little from that of *cum* with the imperfect or pluperfect indicative. No doubt when the usage originally arose, the clause with *cum* was regarded as expressing the *cause* of the action or event denoted by the principal verb; here the presence of F. in Gaul might be regarded as *a cause* of the crime. It is more than doubtful, however, whether in actual use the subjunctive in these phrases continued to carry with it to Latin readers any idea of cause. See Roby, 1720, Kennedy, 211; also A. 325, 323 and foot-note 1; G. 586 with Rem.; H. 521, II. 2 and foot-note 1. —— **exoratus est**: 'was persuaded'; cf. Liv. 39, 43. —— **securi feriret**: the story was that L. Flamininus himself acted as executioner. —— **eorum qui ... essent**: the subjunctive because of the class-notion, 'of such persons as were'. —— **Tito censore**: *i. e.* in 189 B. C.; see n. on 1. —— **Flacco**: L. Valerius Flaccus was the life-long friend of Cato, and his colleague in the consulship and in the censorship. He entirely favored Cato's political views. See Introd. —— **imperi dedecus**: Flamininus was at the time Roman governor of the district.

43. audivi e: Cic. uses *audire ex*, *ab*, and *de aliquo*, almost indifferently. —— **porro**: 'in turn'; literally 'farther on', here = 'farther back'; cf. Livy 27, 51. —— **C. Fabricium**: see n. on 15. —— **Cinea**: the famous diplomatist, minister of Pyrrhus. He was a pupil of Demosthenes and himself one of the most famous orators of his time. Cineas was the ambassador who tried to negotiate peace on the occasion mentioned in 16. —— **se sapientem profiteretur**: the omission of *esse* is common in such phrases; *e. g.* Fin. 5, 13 *Strato physicum se voluit.* Epicurus, who is here meant (born 342 B. C., died 270), was blamed for calling himself *σοφός* or *sapiens*. Others, says Cicero, who

had borne the title had waited for the public to confer it on them (Fin. 2, 7). —— eumque: 'and yet he'; cf. n. on 13 *vixitque.* —— faceremus: for the tense cf. n. on 42 *efficeret;* also *expeteretur* below. —— ad ... referenda: 'ought to be judged by the standard of pleasure', *i. e.* anything which brings pleasure may be regarded as good, and its opposite bad. So in Greek *ἐπαναφέρειν τὶ εἴς τι.* On the moral teachings of Epicurus consult Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, Ch. 19; Ueberweg, History of Philosophy, § 59; Guyan, La morale d'Épicure et ses rapports avec les doctrines contemporaines. —— Curium ... Coruncanium: see n. on 15. —— id ... persuaderetur: intransitive verbs are used in the passive only impersonally (Roby, 1422; A. 230; G. 199, Rem. 1; H. 301, 1); when so used the dative may follow as in the active (see Madvig, 244, *b*; G. 208; H. 384, 5). A neuter pronoun in the singular sometimes, as here, accompanies the passive, and may be regarded as an adverbial accusative of respect or extent, or as a nominative qualifying the impersonal subject. The former is probably the real construction. Cf. Roby, 1423, and Madvig, 229, *b*, Obs. 1. —— Samnitibus: then in alliance with Pyrrhus. —— vixerat ... cum: not to be taken literally of living in the same house; the phrase merely indicates close friendship. In Acad. 2, 115 Cic. writes *Diodoto qui mecum vixit tot annos, qui habitat apud me,* clearly showing that the phrases *vivere cum aliquo* and *habitare apud aliquem* are not equivalent. —— P. Decio: this is P. Decius Mus, who at the battle of Sentinum in 295 gave his life as a propitiatory offering to the powers of the unseen world, in order to bring victory to the Roman arms. His father had sacrificed himself in the same way at the battle of Veseris (close to Vesuvius) in 340, fought against the Latins and Campanians. —— devoverat: Liv. 10, 28, 13 (speech of Decius) *datum hoc nostro generi est ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus; iam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas Telluri et dis Manibus dabo.* —— aliquid etc.: 'some principle'; in his philosophical works Cicero often confounds the Epicureans by quoting the action of the Decii and others like it, as showing that pleasure is not the end of existence. Cf. especially Fin. 2, 61 *P. Decius cum se devoverat et equo admisso in mediam aciem Latinorum irruebat, aliquid de voluptatibus suis cogitabat?* Cf. also below, 75. With regard to *natura* see n. on 5. —— sua sponte: 'for its own sake'; 'on its own account'. Cf. Leg. 1, 45 *vera et falsa sua sponte non aliena iudicantur,* where a few lines later *sua natura* occurs as equivalent to *sua sponte* —— ex-

peteretur: em. for *peteretur* in the MSS. The words *expetere, expetendum* are technically used in Cicero's philosophical works to express the Greek *αἱρεῖσθαι, αἱρετόν* as applied to the *finis* or *τέλος*, the supreme aim of moral action. *Pulchrum* above is a translation of the Greek *καλόν*, a term constantly applied to the *τέλος*, particularly by the Stoics. —— **spreta et contempta**: the first word is much the stronger of the two; *spernere* is *καταφρονεῖν*, 'to scorn'; *contemnere ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι*, 'to make light of', 'hold of no account'. *Contemnere* is often no stronger in sense than *omittere*, 'to pass by, neglect'. Cf. 65 *contemni, despici*. —— **optimus quisque**: see A. 93, *c*; G. 305; H. 458, 1.

P. 19. — 44. cruditate: 'indigestion'. —— **insomniis**: 'sleeplessness'; the singular *insomnium* occurs only once in prose (Tac. Ann. 11, 4). *Insomnia, ae* is found only in poetry and late prose. —— **divine**: this word in Cic. often means nothing more than 'splendidly', 'extraordinarily'. —— **escam malorum**: 'an enticement to evil' (*esca* = *ed-ca*, from the root of *edo*). Plato in the Timaeus 69 D (a dialogue translated into Latin by Cicero, a fragment of whose translation is still preserved) has *ἡδονὴν μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ*. Cf. also Cic. Hortensius fr. 76 (ed. Halm) *voluptates corporis quae vere et graviter a Platone dictae sunt illecebrae esse atque escae malorum*. —— **modicis**: for the sake of variety Cic. chooses this, not *moderatis*, as the opposite of *immoderatis*. Trans. 'a moderate amount of goodfellowship'. —— **M. F.** = *Marci filium*. —— **devicerat**: pluperfect where a modern would incline to use a perfect. The battle referred to is that of Mylae, fought in 260; its memory was perpetuated by the decking of the *forum* with the *rostra* of the captured ships; the *columna rostrata* bore a long inscription, a restored version of which still exists. —— **cena**: so best spelt; some good texts still print *caena*, but *coena* is decidedly wrong, being based on the fiction that the Latin borrowed the Greek word *κοινή* and turned it into *coena*. —— **cereo funali**: 'the torch-light'; *cereo*, the em. of Mommsen for *crebro*; the *funale* was a torch composed of withs or twigs twisted into a rope (*funis*) and dipped in pitch or oil. —— **sibi ... sumpserat**: Cic. seems to think that Duillius assumed these honors on his own authority. This was probably not the case; they were most likely conferred on him by a vote of the *comitia tributa*. Cf. Liv. epit. 17 *C. Duillius primus omnium Romanorum ducum navalis victoriae duxit triumphum, ob quam causam ei perpetuus quoque honos habitus est, ut revertenti a cena tibicine canente funale praeferretur*. No other instance is known where these particu

lar distinctions were decreed; the nearest parallel lies in the right accorded to Paulus Macedonicus and to Pompeius to wear the triumphal *toga picta* for life on each occasion of the *ludi*. It may be conjectured that the music and the torch were part of the ceremony on the evening of a triumph when the *triumphator* was escorted home. Cf. Florus 1, 18, 10, ed. Halm. —— **nullo exemplo**: 'without any precedent'. —— **privatus**: any person is *privatus* who is not actually in office at the moment referred to, whether he has led a public life or not. —— **licentiae**: a strong word is used to mark the heinousness of Duillius' supposed offence against ancestral custom.

45. **alios**: *sc. nomino*. —— **primum**: the corresponding *deinde* is omitted, as often. —— **sodalis**: the *sodalitates* or *sodalitia*, brotherhoods for the perpetuation of certain rites accompanied with feasting, were immemorial institutions at Rome. The clause *sodalitates ... acceptis* must not be taken to mean that Cicero supposed these brotherhoods to have been first instituted in the time of Cato; it is only introduced to show that Cato, so far from being averse to good living, assisted officially in the establishment of new clubs. Most of the *sodalitates* were closely connected with the *gens*; all members of a *gens* were *sodales* and met together to keep up the old *sacra*, but in historical times fictitious kinship largely took the place of real kinship, and feasting became almost the sole raison d'être of these clubs. [See Mommsen's treatise *De collegiis et sodaliciis Romanis*.] The parallel of the London City Companies readily suggests itself. The national *sodalitates* or priesthoods such as those of the *Sodales Titii*, *Luperci*, *Augustales* etc. were somewhat different. —— **autem**: for the form of the parenthesis cf. 7. —— **Magnae Matris**: the image of Cybele was brought to Rome in 204 B. C. from Pessinus in Phrygia. See Liv. 29, 10. The *Sacra* are called *Idaea* from Mount Ida in Phrygia, which was a great centre of the worship of Cybele. *Acceptis*, sc. *in civitatem*; the worship of strange gods was in principle illegal at Rome unless expressly authorized by the State. —— **igitur**: the construction of the sentence is broken by the introduction of the parenthesis, and a fresh start is made with *epulabar igitur*. *Igitur* is often thus used, like our 'well then', to pick up the broken thread of a sentence. So often *sed* or *ergo*. —— **fervor**: Cf. Hor. Od. 1, 16, 22 *me quoque pectoris temptavit in dulci iuventa fervor*. —— **aetatis, qua progrediente**: 'belonging to that time of life, but as life advances'. The word *aetas* has really two senses here; in the first place it is *bona aetas* or *iuventus*

(cf. 39 where *aetas* = *senectus*), in the second place *vita* (for which see n. on 5). —— **neque enim**: the *enim* refers to *modice*. —— **coetu ... sermonibus**: for the order of the words see n. on 1 *animi tui*. —— **metiebar**: cf. n. on 43 *referenda*. —— **accubitionem**: a *vox Ciceroniana*, rarely found in other authors. —— **vitae coniunctionem**: 'a common enjoyment of life'. —— **tum ... tum**: here purely temporal, 'sometimes ... sometimes'; often however = 'both ... and'; cf. 7. —— **compotationem** etc.: cf. Epist. ad Fam. 9, 24, 3. *Compotatio* = *συμπόσιον*; *concenatio* = *σύνδειπνον*. —— **in eo genere**: see n. on 4. —— **id**: *i. e.* eating and drinking.

46. tempestivis ... conviviis: 'even in protracted banquets'. Those banquets which began *early* in order that they might last long were naturally in bad repute, so that the phrase *tempestivum convivium* often has almost the sense of 'a debauch'. Thus in Att. 9, 1, 3 Cicero describes himself as being evil spoken of *in tempestivis conviviis*, *i. e.* in dissolute society. Cf. pro Arch. 13. The customary dinner hour at Rome was about three o'clock in the afternoon. The word *tempestivus*, which in 5 means 'at the right time', here means 'before the right time'. So in English 'in good time' often means 'too early'. See Becker's Gallus, p. 451 *et seq.* —— **qui pauci**: the substitution of the nominative of the relative for the partitive genitive (*quorum*) is not uncommon. A. 216, *c*; G. 368, Rem. 2; H. 397, 2, n. —— **pauci admodum**: Cic. usually says *admodum pauci* rather than *pauci admodum*. —— **vestra aetate**: = *eis qui sunt vestra aetate*. Cf. n. on 26 *senectus*. —— **sermonis ... sustulit**: notice the indicatives *auxit*, *sustulit*, the relative clauses being attributive, though they might fairly have been expected here to be causal. G. 627; H. 517, 2. In this passage Cic. imitates Plato, Rep. 328 D. —— **bellum indicere**: common in the metaphorical sense; *e. g.* De Or. 2, 155 *miror cur philosophiae prope bellum indixeris*; Hor. Sat. 1, 5, 7 *ventri indico bellum*. —— **cuius est** etc.: *i. e.* nature sanctions a certain amount of pleasure. This is the Peripatetic notion of the *mean*, to which Cicero often gives expression, as below, 77; also in Acad. 1, 39; 2, 139; and in De Off.; so Hor. Sat. 1, 1, 106 *sunt certi denique fines quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum*; cf. Od. 2, 10. —— **non intellego ne**: for the negatives cf. nn. on 24, 27.

P. 20. — magisteria: generally explained as referring to the practice of appointing at each dinner a 'master of the feast', *arbiter bibendi* or *συμποσιάρχης*. This explanation is not quite correct

Mommsen shows in his work '*de collegiis*' that each one of the *collegia* or *sodalicia* annually appointed a *magister cenarum* whose duty it was to attend to the club-dinners during his year of office and no doubt to preside at them. That some office is meant more important than that of the *arbiter bibendi* appointed for a particular feast is shown by the words *a maioribus instituta*. It is scarcely likely that Cicero was ignorant of the Greek origin of the custom of appointing an *arbiter bibendi*. —— **et is sermo** etc.: 'and the kind of talk in which following the fashion of our fathers we engage, beginning at the upper table, as the cup goes round'. The cup circulated from left to right, not, as with us, from right to left. The guests at a Roman dinner reclined on three couches, placed at three tables; two of the couches (*lecti*) were parallel, and the third was at right angles to the other two. The *lectus* at which the cup began to circulate was *summus*, the next *medius*, the last *imus*. For *a summo* cf. *da* (*sc. bibere*) *a summo* in Plaut. Asin. 5, 2, 41. See Becker's Gallus, p. 471 *et seq.* —— **sicut ... est**: 'as we find'; so Off. 1, 32 *ut in fabulis est*, and often. —— **in Symposio**: 2, 26. —— **minuta**: see n. on 52. —— **rorantia**: here with an active sense, 'besprinkling', representing ἐπιψεκάζειν in Xenophon; often however not different in sense from '*roscida*'. —— **refrigeratio ... hibernus**: cf. closely 57 *ubi et seq.* Note the changes of expression in passing from *refrigeratio* to *sol* (*apricatio* would have more exactly corresponded with *refrigeratio*) and from *aestate* to *hibernus* (for *hieme*). —— **in Sabinis**: 'when with the Sabines', who were celebrated for their simplicity of life. Cato had an estate in the Sabine district. —— **convivium vicinorum compleo**: 'I make up (*i. e.* to the proper number) a company of my neighbors'. —— **quod ... producimus**: 'and we continue our companionship to as late an hour as we can, with changing talk'. The phrases *multa nocte* or *de nocte* 'late in the night', *multo die* 'late in the day', are common; cf. also Att. 13, 9, 1 *multus sermo ad multum diem*; Rep. 6, 10 *sermonem in multam noctem produximus*.

47. **at**: so in 21, where see n. —— **quasi titillatio**: the *quasi*, as often in Cicero's writings, marks a translation from the Greek. Here the Epicurean word γαργαλισμός is referred to; it is often in Cic. represented by *titillatio*; cf. N. D. 1, 113; Fin. 1, 39; Tusc. 3, 47. —— **bene**: *sc. dixit.* —— **affecto aetate**: 'wrought on by age'. Cf. De Or. 1, 200 *in eius infirmissima valetudine affectaque iam aetate.* —— **utereturne** etc.: 'whether he still took pleasure in love'; *uti* = *frui*

Cf. Ovid, Met. 4, 259 *dementer amoribus uti* with Cic. Tusc. 4, 68 *venereis voluptatibus frui*. —— **di meliora**: *sc. duint;* this archaic form usually occurs when the phrase is given in full. The story of Sophocles is taken by Cicero from Plato (Rep. 329 B) who has εὐφήμει. —— **istinc** etc.: cf. the passage in Plato, Rep. 1, 329 C. For *istinc* used otherwise than of place cf. *unde* in 12 with n. —— **agresti**: 'boorish'; *rusticus* denotes simply an ordinary countryman. —— **quamquam ... ergo**: these words may be scanned as a hexameter line, but the pause before *ergo* would prevent them from being taken as a verse. —— **hoc non desiderare**: 'this absence of regret'; the words form the subject of *est*. So *hoc non dolere* in Fin. 2, 18. For the pronoun in agreement with the infinitive treated as noun cf. Persius 1, 9 *istud vivere;* 1, 122 *hoc ridere meum*. H. 538, 3.

48. **si**: 'even if', 'granting that'. —— **bona aetas**: 'the good time of life', *i. e.* youth. Tischer qu. Varro de Re Rustica 2, 6, 2 *mares feminaeque bona aetate* = 'young'. For *bona aetas* = *homines bona aetate* cf. n. on 26 *senectus*. —— **ut diximus**: not expressly, but the opinion is implied in 44, 45. —— **Turpione Ambivio**: L. Ambivius Turpio was the most famous actor of Cato's time, and appeared especially in Terence's plays. In old Latin commonly, occasionally in the Latin of the best period, and often in Tacitus, the *cognomen* is placed before the *nomen* when the *praenomen* is not mentioned. Cf. Att. 11, 12, 1 *Balbo Cornelio*. The usage is more common in Cicero's writings than in those of his contemporaries. —— **prima cavea**: 'the lower tier'. The later Roman theatres consisted of semicircular or elliptic galleries, with rising tiers of seats; the level space partially enclosed by the curve was the *orchestra*, which was bounded by the stage in front. There can be little doubt that Cicero is guilty of an anachronism here; his words do not suit the circumstances of Cato's time. Till nearly the end of the Republic the theatres were rude structures of wood, put up temporarily; it is even doubtful whether they contained seats for the audience. Cato himself frustrated an attempt to establish a permanent theatre. —— **propter**: 'close by'. The adverbial use of *propter* (rarely, if ever, met with outside of Cicero) is denied by some scholars, but is well attested by MSS. here and elsewhere. —— **tantum ... est**: these words qualify *delectatur*.

49. **illa**: put for *illud*, as in Greek ταῦτα and τάδε are often put for τοῦτο and τόδε. The words from *animum* to the end of the sen

tence are explanatory of *illa.* —— **quanti**: 'how valuable!' but the word may have exactly the opposite meaning if the context require it; thus in N. D. 1, 55 and Rep. 6, 25 the sense is 'how worthless!' —— **stipendiis**: 'campaigns'. The four words from *libidinis* to *inimicitiarum* are to be taken in pairs, while *cupiditatum* sums them up and is in apposition to all. —— **secum esse**: cf. Tusc. 1, 75; Pers. 4, 52 *tecum habita.* —— **si ... aliquod**: the sense is scarcely different from that of *si ... quod;* the distinction is as slight as that in English between 'if' followed by 'some', and 'if' followed by 'any'. Cf. n. on Lael. 24 *si quando aliquid.* —— **pabulum**: for the metaphorical sense rendered less harsh by *tamquam*, cf. Acad. 2, 127; Tusc. 5, 66 *pastus animorum.* —— **studi**: an explanatory genitive dependent on *pabulum.* —— **otiosa senectute**: 'leisured age'; *otium* in the Latin of Cicero does not imply idleness, but freedom from public business and opportunity for the indulgence of literary and scientific tastes. —— **videbamus**: for the tense cf. Lael. 37 *Gracchum rem publicam vexantem ab amicis derelictum videbamus, i. e.* 'we saw over a considerable period'. See also 50, 79. —— **in studio** etc.: 'busied with the task of almost measuring bit by bit (*di-metiendi*) the heavens and the earth'. For the sense cf. Hor. Od. 1, 28 (of Archytas). —— **Gallum**: consul in 157 B. C., famous as an astronomer and as the first Roman who predicted an eclipse before the battle of Pydna. See Liv. 44, 37.

P. 21. — **describere**: technically used of the drawing of mathematical figures. *Ingredior* often has an infinitive dependent on it even in the best Latin; *e. g.* Cic. Top. 1 *nos maiores res scribere ingressos.*

50. acutis: requiring keenness of intellect. —— **Naevius**: see n. on 20. —— **Truculento ... Pseudolo**: these plays of Plautus (lived from 254 to 184 B. C.) we still possess. The Truculentus is so named from one of the characters, a slave of savage disposition who is wheedled; the Pseudolus from a cheating slave. The latter name is commonly supposed to be a transcription from a Greek word ψεύδυλος, which however nowhere occurs; and as the change from Greek *υ* to Latin *o* is not found before *l*, Corssen assumes ψεύδ-αλος as the original word. The form *Pseudulus* of the name is probably later than *Pseudolus.* —— **Livium**: Livius Andronicus, the founder of Latin literature (lived from about 285 to 204 B. C.), who translated the Odyssey, also many Greek tragedies. Livius was a Greek captured by Livius Salinator at Tarentum in 275 B. C.; for a time he was the

slave of Livius, and, according to custom, took his name when set free. For an account of his writings see Cruttwell's Hist. of Roman Literature, Ch. 3; Sellar, Roman Poets of the Rep., Ch. 3. —— **docuisset**: 'had brought on to the stage'. *Docere* (like διδάσκειν in Greek, which has the same use) meant originally to instruct the performers in the play. —— **Centone Tuditanoque consulibus**: *i. e.* in 240 B. C. The use of *que* here is noticeable; when a date is given by reference to the consuls of the year it is usual to insert *et* (not *que* or *atque*, which rarely occur) between the two names, if only the *cognomina* (as here) be given. If the full names be given, then they are put side by side without *et*. Cf. n. on 10. —— **Crassi**: see n. on 27. —— **pontifici et civilis iuris**: the *ius pontificium* regarded mainly the proper modes of conducting religious ceremonial. *Ius civile*, which is often used to denote the whole body of Roman Law, here includes only the secular portion of that Law. Cf. n. on 38. —— **huius P. Scipionis**: 'the present P. Scipio'. So in 14 *hi consules* 'the present consuls'; Rep. 1, 14 *Africanus hic*, *Pauli filius*, and often. The P. Scipio who is meant here is not Africanus, but Nasica Corculum. —— **flagrantis**: 'all aglow'; so *ardere studio* in Acad. 2, 65. —— **senes**: = *cum senes essent*, so *senem* below. —— **suadae medullam**: 'the essence (lit. marrow) of persuasiveness'. The lines of Ennius are preserved by Cicero, Brut. 58. *Suada* is a translation of πειθώ, which the Greek rhetoricians declared to be the end and aim of oratory. This Cethegus was consul in 204 and in 203 defeated Mago in the N. of Italy. —— **exerceri**: here reflexive in meaning. A. 111, n. 1; G. 209; H. 465. —— **videbamus**: see n. on 49. —— **comparandae**: for the idea of *possibility* which the gerundive sometimes has (but only in negative sentences or interrogative sentences implying a negative answer, and in conditional clauses) see Madvig, 420, Obs.; Roby, 1403. —— **haec quidem**: a short summary of the preceding arguments, preparatory to a transition to a new subject, introduced by *venio nunc ad*. The succession of two clauses both containing *quidem* seems awkward, but occurs in Fin. 5, 80 and elsewhere. —— **honestum sit**: 'does him honor'. —— **ut ante dixi**: in 26, where see the notes. —— **potest esse**: Meissner (n. on 27) says that Cicero's rule is to say *potest esse, debet esse* and the like, not *esse potest* and the like. It is true that *esse* in such cases is very seldom separated from the word on which it depends, but *esse potest* is just as common as *potest esse*; the difference to the sense is one of emphasis only, the *esse* having more emphasis thrown on it in the latter case.

51. **mihi ... videntur**: see Introd. —— **habent rationem cum**: 'they have their reckonings with', 'their dealings with'; a phrase of book-keeping. —— **imperium**: so Verg. Georg. 1, 99 *exercetque frequens tellurem atque imperat agris;* ib. 2, 369 *dura exerce imperia et ramos compesce fluentes;* Tac. Germ. 26 *sola terrae seges imperatur.* —— **sed alias ... faenore**: put for *sed semper cum faenore, alias minore, plerumque maiore.* —— **vis ac natura**: 'powers and constitution'. These two words are very often used by Cic. together, as in Fin. 1, 50 *vis ac natura rerum.* —— **gremio**: so Lucret. 1, 250 *pereunt imbres ubi eos pater aether In gremium matris terrai praecipitavit*, imitated by Verg. Georg. 2, 325. —— **mollito ac subacto**: *i. e.* by the plough. *Subigere*, 'subdue', is a technical word of agriculture; so Verg. Georg. 2, 50 *scrobibus subactis;* see also below, 59.

P. 22. — **occaecatum**: 'hidden'. *Caecus* has the sense of 'unseen' as well as that of 'unseeing' or 'blind'. —— **occatio**: Cicero's derivation, as well as Varro's (De Re Rust. 1, 31, 1) from *occidere*, because the earth is cut up, is unsound. *Occa* is *rastrum*, probably from its *sharp* points (root *ak-*); *occatio* therefore is 'harrowing'. —— **vapore**: 'heat'. This word has not in the best Latin the meaning of our 'vapor'. —— **compressu**: a word found only here in Cicero's writings and elsewhere in Latin only in the ablative case, like so many other nouns whose stem ends in *-u*. —— **diffundit et elicit**: 'expands and lures forth'. —— **herbescentem**: this word occurs nowhere else in Latin. —— **nixa**: A. 254, *b*; G. 403, Rem. 3; H. 425, 1, 1), n. —— **fibris stirpium**: so Tusc. 3, 13 *radicum fibras.* —— **geniculato**: 'knotted'. The verb *geniculo*, from *genu*, scarcely occurs excepting in the passive participle, which is always used, as here, of plants. So Plin. Nat. Hist. 16, 158 *geniculata cetera gracilitas nodisque distincta*, speaking of the *harundo.* —— **spici**: besides *spica*, the forms *spicum* and *spicus* are occasionally found. *Spici* here is explanatory of *frugem.* —— **vallo**: for the metaphor compare N. D. 2, 143 *munitae sunt palpebrae tamquam vallo pilorum;* Lucr. 2, 537.

52. **quid ego ... commemorem**: this and similar formulae for passing to a new subject are common; cf. 53 *quid ego ... proferam* etc.; often *nam* precedes the *quid*, as in Lael. 104. The *ego* has a slight emphasis. Cato implies that his own devotion to grape-culture was so well known as not to need description. —— **ortus satus incrementa**: 'origin, cultivation, and growth'. For the omission of the copula see n. on 53. —— **ut**: final, and slightly elliptic ('I say this that etc.'); so

in 6 (where see n.), 24, 56, 59, 82. —— **requietem**: the best MSS. of Cic. sometimes give the other form *requiem*, as in Arch. 13. —— **vim ipsam**: 'the inherent energy'. —— **omnium ... terra**: a common periphrasis for 'all plants'; cf. *e. g.* N. D. 2, 120. The Latin has no one word to comprehend all vegetable products. —— **quae ... procreet**: 'able to generate'. —— **tantulo**: strictly elliptic, implying *quantulum re vera est*. In such uses *tantus* and *tantulus* differ slightly from *magnus* and *parvus;* they are more emphatic. —— **acini vinaceo**: 'a grape-stone'. —— **minutissimis**: used here for *minimis*. Strictly speaking *minutus* ought to be used of things which are fragments of larger things, *minutus* being really the participle passive of *minuo*. In a well-known passage (Orat. 94) Cic. himself calls attention to the theoretical incorrectness of the use, which, however, is found throughout Latin literature. Cf. 46 *pocula minuta;* also below, 85 *minuti philosophi*. —— **malleoli**: vine-cuttings; so called because a portion of the parent stem was cut away with the new shoot, leaving the cutting in the shape of a mallet. —— **plantae**: 'suckers', shoots springing out of the trunk. —— **sarmenta**: 'scions', shoots cut from branches not from the trunk —— **viviradices**: 'quicksets', new plants formed by dividing the roots of the mother plant. —— **propagines**: 'layers', new plants formed by rooting a shoot in the earth without severing it from the parent plant; Verg. Georg. 2, 26. —— **eadem**: n. on 4 *eandem*. —— **claviculis**: cf. N. D. 2, 120 *vites sic claviculis*. —— **ars agricolarum**: *agricolae arte freti*, a strong instance of the abstract put for the concrete.

53. eis: *sc. sarmentis*, those which have not been pruned away by the knife. —— **exsistit**: 'springs up'. *Exsistere* in good Latin never has the meaning of our 'exist', *i. e.* '*to be in* existence', but always means '*to come into* existence'. —— **articulos**: 'joints'; cf. 51 *culmo geniculato*. The word *tamquam* softens the metaphor in *articuli*, which would properly be used only of the joints in the limbs of animals. —— **gemma**: Cicero took the meaning 'gem' or 'jewel' to be the primary sense of *gemma* and considered that the application to a bud was metaphorical. See the well-known passages, Orat. 81 and De Or. 3, 155. —— **vestita pampinis**: 'arrayed in the young foliage'. —— **fructu ... aspectu**: ablatives of respect, like *gustatu* above. —— **capitum iugatio**: 'the linking together of their tops'; *i. e.* the uniting of the tops of the stakes by cross-stakes. So the editors; but Conington on Verg. Georg. 2, 355 seems to take *capita* of the top-foliage

of the vines, an interpetation which is quite possible. Those editors are certainly wrong who remove the comma after *iugatio* and place it after *religatio*, as though *et* were omitted between the two words. In enumerations of more than two things Cic. either omits the copula altogether or inserts it before each word after the first; but in enumerating two things *et* cannot be omitted, except where there are several *sets* or *pairs* of things. Cf. n. on 13. —— **religatio**: *i. e.* the tying down of shoots so as to cause them to take root in the earth. *Religatio* seems to occur only here.

P. 23. — **aliorum immissio**: 'the granting of free scope to others'. *Immissio* scarcely occurs elsewhere in good Latin. The metaphor is from letting loose the reins in driving; cf. Verg. Georg. 2, 364; Plin. N. H. 16, 141 *cupressus immittitur in porticas asseresque amputatione ramorum*; Varro, R. R. 1, 31, 1 *vitis immittitur ad uvas pariendas*. Some, referring to Columella de Arbor. c. 7, take the word to mean the setting in the earth of a shoot in order that it may take root before being separated from the parent stem. The context, however, is against this interpretation. —— **irrigationes** etc: the plurals denote more prominently than singulars would the repetition of the actions expressed by these words. —— **repastinationes**: 'repeated hoeings'. The *pastinum* was a kind of pitchfork, used for turning over the ground round about the vines, particularly when the young plants were being put in. —— **multo terra fecundior**: see n. on 3 *parum ... auctoritatis*.

54. **in eo libro**: see Introd. —— **doctus**: often used of poets, not only by Cicero but by most other Latin writers, more particularly by the elegiac poets; see also n. on 13. —— **Hesiodus**: the oldest Greek poet after Homer. The poem referred to here is the Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι, which we still possess, along with the Theogony and the Shield of Heracles. —— **cum**: concessive. —— **saeculis**: 'generations', as in 24. —— **fuit** = *vixit*. —— **Laerten**: the passage referred to is no doubt the touching scene in Odyss. 24, 226, where Odysseus, after killing the suitors, finds his unhappy old father toiling in his garden. In that passage nothing is said of *manuring*. —— **lenientem**: see n. on 11 *dividenti*. —— **colentem** etc.: the introduction of another participle to explain *lenientem* is far from elegant. *Cultione agri* or something of the kind might have been expected. The collocation of *appetentem* with *occupatum* in 56 is no less awkward. —— **facit**: n. on 3 *facimus*. —— **res rusticae laetae sunt**: 'the farmer's life is gladdened'. —— **apium**: this form is oftener found in the best MSS.,

of prose writers at least, than the other form *apum*, which probably was not used by Cic. —— **omnium** : = *omnis generis.* —— **consitiones ... insitiones** : 'planting ... grafting'. On the varieties of grafting and the skill required for it see Verg. Georg. 2, 73 *seq.*

55. possum : see n. on 24. —— **ignoscetis** : 'you will excuse (me)'. —— **provectus sum** : 'I have been carried away'. Cicero often uses *prolabi* in the same sense. —— **in hac ... consumpsit** : Cic. probably never, as later writers did, used *consumere* with a simple ablative. —— **Curius** : see n. on 15. —— **a me** : = *a mea villa* ; cf. n. on 3 *apud quem.* —— **admirari satis non possum** : a favorite form of expression with Cicero ; *e. g.* De Or. 1, 165. —— **disciplinam** : 'morals' ; literally 'teaching'.

56. Curio : Plutarch, Cat. 2, says the ambassadors found him cooking a dinner of herbs, and that Curius sent them away with the remark that a man who dined in that way had no need of gold. The present was not brought as a bribe, since the incident took place after the war. Curius had become *patronus* of the Samnites, and they were bringing the customary offering of *clientes* ; see Rep. 3, 40. —— **ne** : here = *num*, a rare use ; so Fin. 3, 44 ; Acad. 2, 116. —— **sed venio ad** : so in 51 *venio nunc ad.* *Redeo ad* (see n. on 32) might have been expected here. —— **in agris erant** : 'lived on their farms'. For *erant* cf. n. on 21 *sunt.* —— **id est senes** : cf. 19 n. on *senatum.* —— **si quidem** : often written as one word *siquidem* = εἴπερ. —— **aranti** : emphatic position —— **Cincinnato** : L. Quinctius Cincinnatus is said to have been dictator twice ; in 458 B. C., when he saved the Roman army, which was surrounded by the Aequians, and ended the war in sixteen days from his appointment ; in 439, when Maelius was killed and Cincinnatus was eighty years old. In our passage Cic. seems to assume only one dictatorship. The story of Cincinnatus at the plough is told in Livy 3, 26. —— **factum** : the technical term was *dicere dictatorem*, since he was nominated by the consul on the advice of the senate. —— **dictatoris** : in apposition with *cuius.*

P. 24. — **Maelium** : a rich plebeian, who distributed corn in time of famine and was charged with courting the people in order to make himself a king. Ahala summoned him before the dictator, and because he did not immediately obey, killed him with his own hand. For this, Ahala became one of the heroes of his nation. See Liv. 4, 13. Cicero often mentions him with praise. Cf in Catil. I. 3 ; p.

Sestio 143, etc. —— **appetentem** : = *quia appetebat* ; so *occupatum* = *cum occupasset.* —— **viatores** : literally 'travellers', so 'messengers'. They formed a regularly organized corporation at Rome and were in attendance on many of the magistrates. Those officers who had the *fasces* had also lictors, who, however, generally remained in close attendance and were not despatched on distant errands. The statement of Cic. in the text is repeated almost *verbatim* by Plin. N. H. 18, 21. —— **miserabilis** : 'to be pitied'. The word does not quite answer to our 'miserable'. —— **agri cultione** : a rare expression, found elsewhere only in Verr. 3, 226 ; then not again till the 'Fathers'. —— **haud scio an nulla** : since *haud scio an* is affirmative in Cicero, not negative as in some later writers, *nulla* must be read here, not *ulla.* Cf. 73 *haud scio an melius Ennius*, 'probably Ennius speaks better'; also 74 *incertum an hoc ipso die*, 'possibly to-day'. Roby, 2256; G. 459, Rem. ; H. 529, II. 3, 2), n. 2. —— **quam dixi** : = *de qua dixi*, as in 53. —— **saturitate** : the word is said to occur nowhere else in Latin. —— **quidam** : *i. e.* the authors of the *tertia vituperatio senectutis*, whom Cato refutes in 39, 59. —— **porco ... gallina** : these words are used collectively, as *rosa* often is ; so Fin. 2, 65 *potantem in rosa Thorium.* —— **iam** : 'further'. —— **succidiam alteram** : 'a second meat-supply'. The word seems to be connected with *caedo*, and probably originally meant 'slaughter'. In a fragment of Cato preserved by Gellius 13, 24, 12 (in some editions 13, 25, 12) we find *succidias humanas facere.* Varro, R. R. 2, 14 has the word in the sense of 'meat'. —— **conditiora facit** : 'adds a zest to'; cf. *condita* in 10. —— **supervacaneis operis** : 'by the use of spare time'; literally 'by means of toils that are left over', *i. e.* after completing the ordinary work of the farm.

57. **ordinibus** : cf. 59 *ordines.* —— **brevi praecidam** : 'I will cut the matter short'. For *praecidam* (*sc. rem* or *sermonem*) cf. Acad. 2, 133 *praecide* (*sc. sermonem*) ; for *brevi* (='in brief', ἐν βραχεῖ) cf. De Or. 1, 34 *ne plura consecter comprehendam brevi.* —— **usu uberius** : cf. 53 *fructu laetius ... aspectu pulchrius.* —— **ad quem ... retardat** : some have thought that there is zeugma here, supposing *ad* to be suited only to *invitat*, not to *retardat.* That this is not the case is clear from such passages as Caes. B. G. 7, 26, 2 *palus Romanos ad insequendum tardabat* (= *tardos faciebat*) ; Cic. Sull. 49 *nullius amicitia ad pericula propulsanda impedimur.* On *fruendum* see Madvig, 421, *a*, Obs. 2 and 265, Obs. 2 ; G. 428, Rem. 3, exc. ; H. 544, 2, n. 5. —— **in-**

vitat atque allectat: one of the 'doublets' of which Cicero is so fond; cf. Lael. 99 *allectant et invitant.*

58. sibi habeant: *sc. iuvenes;* contemptuous, as in Lael. 18 *sibi habeant sapientiae nomen;* Sull. 26 *sibi haberent honores, sibi imperia* etc.; cf. the formula of Roman divorce, *tu tuas res tibi habeto.* —— **hastas**: in practising, the point was covered by a button, *pila;* cf. Liv. 26, 51 *praecipitatis missilibus iaculati sunt.* —— **clavam**: cf. Vegetius de Re Mil. 1, 11 *clavas ligneas pro gladiis tironibus dabant, eoque modo exercebantur ad palos;* Iuv. 6, 246. The *palus* is called *stipes* by Martial 7, 32. —— **pilam ... venationes ... cursus**: all national amusements, well known to readers of Horace; see Becker's Gallus. *Venationes,* em. for *natationes.* —— **talos ... tesseras**: *tali,* 'knuckle-bones', were oblong, and rounded at the two ends; the sides were numbered 1 and 6 (1 being opposite to 6), 3 and 4. Four *tali* were used at a time and they, like the *tesserae,* were generally thrown from a box, *fritillus.* The *tesserae,* of which three were used at a time, were cubes, with the sides numbered from 1 to 6 in such a way that the numbers on two opposite sides taken together always made 7. A separate name was used by dicers for almost every possible throw of the *tesserae* and *tali.* The two best known are *canis,* when all the dice turned up with the same number uppermost; and *venus,* when they all showed different numbers. The word *alea* was general and applicable to games of chance of every kind. These games, which were forbidden by many ineffectual laws ('*vetita legibus alea*') were held to be permissible for old men; see Mayor on Iuv. 14, 4. —— **id ipsum**: sc. *faciunt;* the omission of *facere* is not uncommon. Roby, 1441; H. 368, 3, n. 1. —— **ut**: em. for ordinary readings *unum* and *utrum.*

59. legite: 'continue to read'. Cf. De Or. 1, 34 *pergite, ut facitis, adulescentes.* In Tusc. 2, 62 it is stated that Africanus was a great reader of Xenophon.

P. 25. — **libro qui est de**: so in Fat. 1 *libris qui sunt de natura deorum,* and similarly elsewhere; but the periphrasis is often avoided, as in Off. 2, 16 *Dicaearchi liber de interitu hominum.* —— **qui**: *quique* might have been expected, but the words above, *qui ... familiari,* are regarded as parenthetical —— **Oeconomicus**: Cicero translates from this work c. 4, 20–25. —— **inscribitur**: see n. on 13. —— **regale**: 'worthy of a king'; different from *regium,* which would mean 'actually characteristic of kings'. Yet Cic. sometimes interchanges the words; thus *regalis potestas* in Har. Resp. 54 is the same as *regia*

potestas in Phil. 1, 3. —— **loquitur cum Critobulo** etc.: 'discourses with Critobulus of how Cyrus etc.'. The construction of *loqui* with acc. and inf. belongs to colloquial Latin, as does the construction *loqui aliquam rem* for *de aliqua re;* cf. Att. 1, 5, 6 *mecum Tadius locutus est te ita scripsisse;* ib. 9, 13, 1 *mera scelera loquuntur.* —— **Cyrum minorem**: Cyrus the younger (cf. 79 *Cyrus maior*), well known from Xenophon's *Anabasis*. As Cyrus never arrived at the throne (having been killed at Cunaxa in 401 in his attempt to oust his brother the king with the help of the 10,000 Greeks) *regem* is used in the sense of 'prince', as in Verr. 4, 61 and elsewhere; *βασιλεύς* is used in exactly the same way in a passage of the Oeconomicus which comes a little before the one Cic. is here rendering (4, 16). —— **Lysander**: the great commander who in 405 B.C. won the battle of Aegospotamos against the Athenians. —— **Sardis**: acc. pl.; *-is* represents Gk. *-εις*. —— **consaeptum agrum**: 'park'; the phrase is a translation of Xenophon's *παράδεισον*; this will account for the omission of *et* before *diligenter consitum*. —— **diligenter**: 'carefully'. —— **proceritates**: the plural probably indicates the height of each *kind* of tree. —— **quincuncem**: thus: ⁘ ⁘ This was the order of battle in the Roman army during a great part of its history. The cause for this application of the term is rather difficult to see; it originally meant five-twelfths of an *uncia;* possibly it was thus applied because by drawing lines between the points the letter V (five) might be produced. As regards its application to trees, see Verg. Georg 2, 277–284 —— **puram**: so the farmers talk of 'cleaning' the land. —— **dimensa**: notice the passive use of this participle, originally deponent; cf. n. on 4 *adeptam*. —— **discripta**: 'arranged'; so *discriptio* a little farther on. Cf. n on 5 *descriptae*. —— **ornatum**: 'costume', used by Latin writers of any dress a little unfamiliar. So in Plaut. Miles 4, 4, 41 (1177 R) *ornatus nauclericus*.

60. **impedit**: *sc. nos;* with this construction the pronoun is always omitted. —— **Valerium**: when a young man, in 349 B.C., he engaged in combat with a Gaul, in sight of the Roman and Gallic armies, and came off victor by the aid of a raven, *corvus;* hence the name Corvinus (Liv. 7, 26). His first consulship was in 348, his last in 299; Cic. has miscalculated. Valerius was also twice dictator and is said to have held altogether 21 terms of curule offices. —— **perduxisse**: *sc. agri colendi studia.* Cf. Lael. 33 *quod — perduxissent.* —— **esset**:

cf. n. on 21. —— **aetate**: here = the vigorous period of life; cf. *bona aetas* in 48. —— **cursus honorum**: 'official career'. —— **huius**: *ille* and *hic* are not often found in the same sentence referring to the same person. *Eius* would have been more regular here. —— **media**: cf. n. on 33 *constantis aetatis*.

P. 26. — **apex**: 'the crown', 'the highest glory'. The word meant originally 'knot', being connected with *ap-tus ap-isci ap-ere* and other words containing the idea of binding fast or grasping. It was properly applied to the olive-twig bound round with wool, which was stuck in the cap worn by the *flamines* and *salii*. It is sometimes employed to translate διάδημα (a word originally of similar meaning), the royal *insigne*, as in Horace, Odes, 3, 21, 20 *regum apices*, with which cf. Odes, 1, 34, 14 The word is scarcely found elsewhere in a metaphorical sense. Our passage is imitated by Ammianus Marcellinus (a great imitator of Cicero) 27, 7, 2 *Rufinus velut apicem honoratae senectutis praetendens*.

61. Metello: see n. on 30. —— **A. Atilio Calatino**: consul in 258 B. C. and again in 254; dictator in 249, censor in 247. Cicero classed him with old heroes like Curius and Fabricius (Planc. 60). His tomb was on the *via Appia* outside the *Porta Capena*, close to the well-known tomb of the Scipios (see Tusc. 1, 13). —— **in quem ... elogium**: 'in whose honor there is the inscription'. With *in quem* = *de quo* cf. the occasional occurrence of κατά τινος in the sense of περί τινος. —— **elogium**: Greek ἐλεγεῖον (so Curtius): for the representation of ε by *o* cf. *oliva* with ἔλαια, and Plautus' *lopadas* for λέπαδας. But cf. Roby, 929, *d*. —— **hunc** etc.: the inscription (which is quoted by Cicero also in Fin. 2, 116) is strikingly like that on the tomb of *Scipio Barbatus* which has actually come down to us, and thus begins (Ritschl's recension):

honc oino ploirime cosentiont Romai
duonoro optumo fuise viro viroro

i. e. hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae bonorum optimum fuisse virum virorum. Ritschl thus completes the *elogium* of Atilus, by comparison with others still preserved: *dictator* (ending the second line), *Consul, censor, aedilis hic fuit apud vos*. But Cicero's words (*notum ... sepulcro*) seem to imply a longer inscription than one of three lines; the analogy of the Scipionic inscriptions points the same way. The older monumental inscriptions of Rome were written in

the Saturnian metre, which depended partly on accent. The normal line ran thus:

⏑ ⏓ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ ⏒ | ⏓ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ ⏒

but there were many deviations. —— **unum**: intensifies *primarium*, 'the very first'; cf. the common use of *unus* with a superlative adjective, for which see n. on Lael. 1 *unum* etc. —— **esset consentiens**: cf. n. on 26 *agens aliquid*. —— **nuper**: like *modo* (see n. on 27) *nuper* is loosely used, and has its meaning defined by the context. Cf. n. on Lael. 13. In Plin. Ep. 1, 2, 2 the orator Calvus, a younger contemporary of Cicero, is said to have existed *nuper*. —— **Lepidum**: *pontifex maximus* from 180 B. C., consul in 187 and in 175; censor in 179; he is said to have been chosen *princeps senatus* by six sets of censors in succession. He died in 152. —— **Paulo**: see 29 *L. Aemilius* with n. —— **Maximo**: see 10 *et seq.* —— **sententia**: *i. e.* a set speech in the senate. Cf. De Or. 1, 38 *is non accurata orationis copia, sed nutu atque verbo libertinos in urbanas tribus transtulit* —— **honorata**: see n. on 22.

62. in omni oratione: 'everywhere throughout my speech'. *Tota oratione* would have meant 'my speech viewed as a whole'. —— **defenderet**: the tense is accommodated to that of *dixi*, according to Latin custom; see n. on 42 *efficeret*. —— **cani**: *sc. capilli;* the same ellipsis is found in Ovid. Cf. *calda* (*sc. aqua*), *laurea* (*sc. corona*), *natalis* (*sc. dies*), *Latinae* (*sc. feriae*), etc.; also *cereo* in 44. —— **fructus ... extremos**: 'receives the reward of influence at the last'.

63 appeti: 'to be courted'; *decedi*: 'to take precedence', literally 'that there should be a yielding of the way'. —— **assurgi**: 'the honor shown by rising'. Cf. Iuv. 13, 54 *credebant grande nefas et morte piandum si iuvenis vetulo non assurrexerat*, where see Mayor's note. —— **deduci reduci**: 'the escort from home and the attendance homeward'. The difference between these two words, which has often been misunderstood, is shown by Val. Max. 2, 1, 9 *iuvenes senatus die utique aliquem ex patribus conscriptis ad curiam deducebant, affixique valvis exspectabant donec reducendi etiam officio fungerentur.* —— **consuli**: probably refers to private legal consultations as well as to the deliberations of the senate. —— **ut quaeque optime**: Cic. often uses *ut quisque* with superlatives, *ita* following; see n. on Lael. 19. Translate *ut ... ita* 'in proportion as ... so'. —— **morata**: from *mos*. —— **modo**: in 59. —— **memoriae proditum est**: in Verr. 5, 36 Cic. uses *ad memoriam* instead of the dative. The best writers have

memoriae prodere and *prodi*, '*for the recollection of* posterity', *memoria prodi*, 'to be handed down *by* tradition'; but not *memoria prodere*. —— **ludis**: *sc. Panathenaicis*, abl. of time. The Panathenaea was the greatest of the Athenian festivals and was celebrated in honor of Athene, patron goddess of the city, once in four years. The story that follows is told in almost the same words by Val. Max. 4, 5, ext. 2.

P. 27. — **qui**: at this point the *oratio obliqua* is broken off, but it is resumed in the next sentence, *dixisse* being dependent on *proditum est*. —— **legati cum essent**: 'being ambassadors'. —— **illi**: 'in his honor'. —— **sessum recepisse**: Val. Max. uses the same phrase; cf. Fam. 10, 32, 2 *sessum deducere*; N. D. 3, 74 *sessum ire*.

64. plausus multiplex: cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 747 *ingeminant plausu*. Cic. generally says *plausus maximus*. —— **facere nolle**: cf. the well-known saying of Demosthenes, Olynth. 3, § 3 πέπεισμαι γὰρ τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐκπεφευγέναι τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν, ἢ τῷ μὴ συνιέναι. —— **collegio**: the college or board of augurs to which Cato belonged. In his time there were nine members; later the number was increased. —— **antecedit**: *sc. alios*. —— **sententiae principatum**: 'precedence in debate'. Meissner quotes Verr. 4, 142 *ut quisque aetate et honore antecedit, ita primus solet sua sponte dicere itaque a ceteris ei conceditur*. —— **honore**: *i. e.* as regards office, past or present. —— **qui ... sunt**: actual praetors or consuls. —— **comparandae**: n. on 50. —— **fabulam aetatis**: cf. 5, 70, 85. The comparison of life to a play, and mankind to the players, is common in all literature; *e. g.* 'All the world 's a stage, etc.'. When Augustus was on his deathbed he asked his friends *ecquid eis videretur mimum vitae commode transegisse* (Suet. Aug. 99); cf. Gay's epitaph, 'Life 's a jest, etc.'. —— **corruisse**: *i. e.* through fatigue; cf. *defetigationem* in 85.

65. at: see n. on 21. —— **morum**: cf. 7 *in moribus est culpa, non in aetate*. —— **ea vitia**: *i. e. ea alia vitia*. —— **habent** etc.: cf. Thucyd. 3, 44 ἔχοντές τι συγγνώμης —— **non ... videatur**: 'not well grounded indeed, but such as it may seem possible to allow'. *Ille* is often used with *quidem* in making concessions where the English idiom requires no pronoun. Roby, 2259; Madvig, 489, *b*; Kennedy, 65, n. 2; A. 151, *e*; G. 292, Rem. 4; H. 450, 4, n. 2. —— **contemni ... despici**: see n. on 43 *spreta et contempta*. —— **moribus bonis et artibus**: for the order of the words cf. n. on 1 *animi tui*. —— **in vita**: 'in everyday life'

—— **Adelphis**: *Adelphi* = ἀδελφοί, The Brothers; this play of Terence is still extant. —— **diritas**: 'harshness of temper'; but Suet. Tib. 21 has *diritas morum*, and Varro *scena quem senem Latina vidit dirissimum*. Both *dirus* and *diritas* are rare in Cicero; the former word does not once occur in the whole range of the speeches, the latter scarcely excepting here and in Vat. 9; in Tusc. 3, 29 Cic. uses it in translating from Euripides.

P. 28. — 66. sollicitam habere: 'to keep in trouble'. *Sollicitus* is, literally, 'wholly in motion', from *sollus*, which has the same root with ὅλος, and *citus*; cf. the rare words *sollifides*, *solliferreus*. The perfect participle with *habeo* emphasizes the continuance of the effect produced. Zumpt, 634; A. 292, *c*; G. 230; H. 388, 1, n. —— **nostram aetatem**: cf. n. on 26 *senectus*. —— **esse longe**: more usually *abesse*. —— **O miserum**: 'O, wretched is that old man'. Cicero oftener joins *O* with the accusative than with the nominative: he rarely, if ever, uses the interjection with the vocative in direct address to persons. —— **extinguit animum**: the doctrine of the annihilation of the soul after death was held by many of Cicero's contemporaries, professedly by the Epicureans (*e. g.* Lucretius, De Rerum Nat. 3, 417 *et seq.*; cf. also Caesar's argument at the trial of the Catilinian conspirators, Sall. Bell. Catil. c. 51, Cic. in Catil. 3, c. 4), practically by the Stoics, who taught that there is a future existence of limited though indefinite length. —— **deducit**: cf. n. on 63. —— **atqui**: see n. on 6. —— **tertium ... potest**: 'nothing can be found as a third alternative'; so in Tusc. 1, 82 *quoniam nihil tertium est*.

67. quid timeam etc.: so Tusc. 1, 25 *quo modo igitur aut cur mortem malum tibi videri dicis? quae aut beatos nos efficiet, animis manentibus, aut non miseros, sensu carentis*; ib. 1, 118 *ut aut in aeternam domum remigremus aut omni sensu careamus*. For mood see A. 268; G. 251; H 486, II. —— **aut non miser ... aut beatus**: a dilemma, but unsound and not conclusive; for *non miser* is used with reference to annihilation, and the soul may exist after death in a state of unhappiness. —— **futurus sum**: see n. on 6 *futurum est*. —— **quamvis sit**: prose writers of the Republican period use *quamvis* with the subjunctive only; see Roby, 1624, 1627; A. 313, *a*, *g*; G. 608; H. 515, III. and n. 3. —— **cui**: see n. on 38 *viventi* —— **ad vesperum esse victurum**: 'that he will be alive when evening comes', *not* 'that he will live till the evening'. With the prepositions *ad*, *sub*, *in* the form *vesper* is generally used, not *vespera*. With this passage cf. Fin. 2, 92

an id exploratum cuiquam potest esse quo modo sese habiturum sit corpus, non dico ad annum, sed ad vesperum? Also cf. the title of one of Varro's Menippean Satires, *nescis quid vesper serus vehat*, probably a proverb. —— **aetas illa ... adulescentes**: some suppose that this sentence was borrowed from Hippocrates. —— **tristius**: '*severioribus remediis*'. Manutius. So Off. 1, 83 *leviter aegrotantis leniter curant, gravioribus autem morbis periculosas curationes et ancipites adhibere coguntur*. The adverb *tristius*, which has in prose a superlative but no positive, occurs in Fam. 4, 13, 5. —— **mens ... ratio ... consilium**: cf. n. on 41. —— **qui ... nulli**: cf. n. on 46 *qui pauci*; but *nulli* here almost = *non*. —— **nullae ... fuissent**: *i. e.* the young men would have brought every country to ruin; see 20. —— **cum ... cum**: see n. on 4.

68. in filio ... in fratribus: cf. Lael. 9. As to Cato's son cf. 15, 84. —— **tu**: *sc. sensisti*. —— **exspectatis ad**: a rare construction, perhaps without parallel; *exspectatis* is an adjective and takes the construction of *aptus*, *idoneus* etc., 'of whom hopes were entertained as regards honor'. —— **fratribus**: the sons of Paulus Macedonicus, two of them died within seven days (Fam. 4, 6, 1), one just before and one just after Paulus' great triumph in 167 B. C. —— **idem**: see n. on 4 *eandem*. —— **insipienter**: adversative asyndeton. —— **incerta ... veris**: chiasmus avoided. With the thought cf. Off. 1, 18. —— **at ... at**: the objection and its answer are both introduced by *at*, as here, in 35. —— **at ... adulescens**: these words look back to the preceding sentence, to which they are an answer. —— **ille ... hic**: here *hic* denotes the person who is more important, *ille* the person who is less important for the matter in hand; the former may therefore be regarded as nearer to the speaker, the latter as more remote. A. 102, *a*; G. 292, Rem. 1; H. 450, 2, n.

69. quamquam: see n. on 2 *etsi*. —— **quid est ... diu**: cf. Tusc. 1, 94 *quae vero aetas longa est, aut quid omnino homini longum? ... quia ultra nihil habemus, hoc longum dicimus*. For *est* see n. on 72. —— **Tartessiorum ... Gadibus**: the whole of the south coast of Spain bore the name *Tartessus*, but the name is often confined to Gades, the chief city. —— **fuit**: = *vixit*. —— **scriptum video**: so in Acad. 2, 129; Div. 1, 31; cf. also N. D. 1, 72 *ut videmus in scriptis*; Off. 2, 25 *ut scriptum legimus*; also cf. n. on 26 *videmus*. —— **Arganthonius**: the story is from Herodotus 1, 163.

P. 29. — aliquid extremum: see n. on 5; cf. pro Marcello 27. —— **effluxit**: strongly aoristic in sense 'at once is gone'. —— **tan-**

tum: 'only so much'. —— **consecutus sis**: 'you may have obtained'. The subjunctive is here used in the indefinite second person to give a hypothetical character to the statement of the verb. The indicative might have been expected; the expression almost = *consecuti sumus, consecutus aliquis est.* Roby, 1546; G. 252, Rem. 3; H. 486, III. —— **virtute et recte factis**: the same opinion is enforced in Tusc. 1, 109. —— **quid sequatur**: 'the future'; cf. Lucr. 1, 459 *transactum quid sit in aevo, Tum quae res instet, quid porro deinde sequatur.* —— **quod ... contentus**: this passage with the whole context resembles Lucretius 3, 931–977; cf. especially 938 *cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis;* 960 *satur ac plenus discedere rerum.* Cf. also Hor. Sat. 1, 1, 117–118.

70. ut placeat: 'in order to secure approval'. —— **peragenda**: cf. n. on 50 *comparandae.* —— **plaudite**: the Latin plays nearly always ended with this word, addressed by the actor to the audience; cf. Hor. A. P. 153 *si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque Sessuri donec cantor 'vos plaudite' dicat.* —— **breve tempus** etc.: one of the poets has said that 'in small measures lives may perfect be'. Cf. also Tusc. 1, 109 *nemo parum diu vixit qui virtutis perfectae perfecto functus est munere;* Seneca, Ep. 77 *quo modo fabula, sic vita: non quam diu, sed quam bene acta sit refert.* —— **processerit**: probably the subject is *sapiens*, in which case *aetate* must also be supplied from *aetatis;* the subject may however be *aetas.* —— **ostendit**: 'gives promise of'; cf. Fam. 9, 8, 1 *etsi munus* (gladiatorial show) *flagitare quamvis quis ostenderit, ne populus quidem solet nisi concitatus.* With the whole passage cf. pro Cael. 76.

71. ut ... dixi: in 9, 60, 62. —— **secundum naturam**: = κατὰ φύσιν, a Stoic phrase; cf. n. on 5 *naturam optimam ducem.* —— **senibus**: dative of reference; *emori* stands as subject to an implied *est.* —— **contingit**: see n. on 8. —— **exstinguitur**: there is the same contrast between *opprimere* and *exstinguere* in Lael. 78. —— **quasi ... evelluntur**: it is rare to find in Cic. or the other prose writers of the best period a verb in the indicative mood immediately dependent on *quasi*, in the sense of *sicut* or *quem ad modum.* When two things are compared by *quasi ... ita*, the indicative verb is nearly always put in the second clause, and may be supplied in the clause with *quasi;* very rarely are there two different verbs for the two clauses. Cf. however Plautus, Stich. 539 *fuit olim, quasi nunc ego sum senex;* Lucr. 3, 492 *agens animam spumat quasi ... fervescunt undae.* —— **si ... si**: for the

more usual *si ... sin.* —— **accedam**: see A. 342; G. 666; H. 529, II. —— **in portum**: speaking of death, Cic. says in Tusc. 1, 118 *portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus: quo utinam velis passis pervehi liceat! Sin reflantibus ventis reiciemur tamen eodem paulo tardius referamur necesse est;* cf. also ib. 1, 107.

P. 30. — 72. munus offici: see n. on 29. —— **tueri**: 'uphold'. —— **possit**: subject indefinite. —— **ex quo fit** etc.: the argument seems to be that youth knows how long it has to last and is therefore less spirited than age, which knows not when it will end. —— **animosior ... fortior**: Horace, Odes 2, 10, 21 *rebus angustis animosus atque fortis appare;* the two words are joined also in Cic. Mil. 92: *animosus*, 'spirited'. —— **hoc illud est** etc.: 'this is the meaning of the answer made by Solon etc'. Cf. Div. 1, 122 *hoc nimirum illud est quod de Socrate accepimus*, also the Greek phrase ἦ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο. *Est* = *valet* as in 69. —— **Pisistratus**: the despot of Athens, who seized the power in 560 B. C. Plutarch, who tells the story, 'An Seni Sit Gerenda Respublica' c. 21, makes Solon speak to the friends of Pisistratus, not to P. himself. —— **quaerenti**: see n. on 11 *dividenti.* —— **audaciter**: Quintil. 1, 6, 17 condemns those who used *audaciter* for *audacter*, which latter form, he says, had been used by 'all orators'. Yet the form *audaciter* is pretty well attested by MSS. here and elsewhere in Cicero. [See Neue, Formenlehre, 1^2 662.] For the two forms cf. *difficiliter*, *difficulter*. *Audaciter* is of importance as showing that *c* before *i* must have been pronounced just like *c* in any other position, not as in modern Italian. —— **certis sensibus**: Acad. 2, 19 *integris incorruptisque sensibus.* —— **ipsa ... quae**: see n. on 26. H. 569, I. 2. —— **coagmentavit**: Cic. is fond of such metaphors; cf. Orat. 77 *verba verbis quasi coagmentari;* Phil. 7, 21 *docebo ne coagmentari quidem pacem posse* ('that no patched-up peace can be made'). —— **conglutinavit**: a still more favorite metaphor than *coagmentare*. Cic. has *conglutinare rem* (Or. 1, 188); *amicitias* (Lael. 32 and Att. 7, 8, 1); *voluntates* (Fam. 11, 27, 2); *concordiam* (Att. 1, 17, 10); in Phil. 3, 28 Cic. says of Antony that he is *totus ex vitiis conglutinatus.* —— **iam**: 'further'; so below. —— **conglutinatio**: the noun occurs only here and Orat. 78 *c. verborum.* —— **reliquum**: not infrequently, as here, used substantively with an adjective modifier. —— **sine causa**: 'without sufficient reason'.

73. vetat Pythagoras etc.: the passage is from Plato, Phaedo 61 A–62 C. Plato makes Socrates there profess to quote Philolaus,

the Pythagorean; Cic. therefore refers the doctrine to Pythagoras. Cf. Tusc. 1, 74; Rep. 6, 15. The Stoics held the same view about suicide, which they authorized in extreme cases, but much less freely than is commonly supposed; cf. Sen. Ep. 117, 22 *nihil mihi videtur turpius quam optare mortem*. See Zeller, Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, Ch. 12, c (2); cf. also Lecky, Hist. of European Morals, I. p. 228 *et seq.* (Am. ed.) —— **imperatoris ... praesidio**: here Cic. seems to understand Plato's φρουρᾷ as referring to warfare; in Tusc. and Rep. he understands it of a prison. —— **sapientis**: Solon was one of the 'Seven Sages of Greece'. —— **elogium**: the distich is preserved by Plutarch, and runs thus: μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι Καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς. Cic. thus translates it in Tusc. 1, 117 *Mors mea ne careat lacrimis, linquamus amicis Maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu*. The epitaph of Ennius is also quoted there and is declared to be better than that of Solon (cf. Tusc. 1, 34). —— **volt se esse carum**: 'he wishes to make out that he is beloved'; *volt esse carus* would have had quite a different sense. Cf. Fin. 5, 13 *Strato physicum se volt*, with Madvig's n. —— **haud scio an**: see n. on 56. —— **faxit**: the subject is *quisquam* understood from *nemo*. For the form see A. 142, 128, *c*, 3; G. 191, 5; H. 240, 4. The end of the epitaph is omitted here as in Tusc. 1, 117, but is given in Tusc. 1, 34 *cur? volito vivos per ora virum*. Notice the alliteration.

74. **isque**: cf. n. on 13 *vixitque*. —— **aut optandus aut nullus**: cf. 66 *aut neglegenda ... aut optanda; nullus* almost = *non* as in 67, but only in the Letters does Cic. (imitating Plautus and the other dramatists) attach *nullus* in this sense to the name of a particular person; *e. g.* Att. 11, 24, 4 *Philotimus nullus venit*. —— **sed ... esse**: 'but we must con this lesson from our youth up'. For the passive sense of *meditatum* cf. n. on 4 *adeptam*. In Tusc. 1, 74 Cic., imitating Plato, says *tota philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est*. So Seneca, *tota vita discendum est mori*. —— **sine qua ... nemo potest**: these words bring the position of Cicero with regard to death wonderfully near that of Lucretius: the latter argues that for peace of mind one must believe '*nullum esse sensum post mortem*'; the former's lesson is '*aut nullum esse sensum aut optandum*'. —— **timens**: = *si quis timet;* the subject of *poterit* is the indefinite *quis* involved in *timens*. A. 310, *a*; G. 670; H. 549, 2. —— **qui**: = *quo modo*, as in 4. —— **animo consistere**: so in pro Quint. 77; also *mente consistere* in Phil. 2, 68; Div.

2, 149; Q. Fr. 2, 3, 2 *neque mente neque lingua neque ore consistere*. The word is, literally, 'to stand firm', 'to get a firm foothold'.

P. 31. — 75. L. Brutum: fell in single combat with Aruns, son of the exiled Tarquin; see Liv. 2, 6. The accusatives *Brutum* etc. are not the objects of *recordor* but the subjects of infinitives to be supplied from *profectas*. —— **duos Decios**: see n. on 43. —— **cursum equorum**: the word *equos* would have been sufficient; but this kind of pleonasm is common in Latin; see n. on Lael. 30 *causae diligendi*. —— **Atilius**: *i. e.* Regulus, whose story is too well known to need recounting. There are many contradictions and improbabilities about it. —— **Scipiones**: see n. on 29. In Paradoxa 1, 12 Cic. says of them *Carthaginiensium adventum corporibus suis intercludendum putaverunt*. —— **Poenis**: on the dat. see A. 235, *a*; H. 384, 4, n 2 —— **Paulum**: n. on 29 *L. Aemilius*. —— **collegae**: M. Terentius Varro. There is no reason to suppose that he was a worse general than many other Romans who met Hannibal and were beaten; the early historians, being all aristocrats, fixed the disgrace of Cannae on the democratic consul. Varro's contemporaries were more just to him. Far from reproaching him, the Senate commended his spirit, and several times afterwards entrusted him with important business. —— **Marcellum**: the captor of Syracuse in 212 B. C. He fell into an ambush in 208 and was killed; Hannibal buried him with military honors. —— **cuius interitum**: abstract for concrete = *quem, post interitum*. —— **crudelissimus hostis**: this, the traditional Roman view of Hannibal, is the reverse of the truth, so far as extant testimony goes. See Mommsen, Hist. of Rome, Bk. III. Ch. 4; Ihne, Hist. of Rome, Bk. IV. —— **sed ... arbitrarentur**: these words are almost exactly repeated in Tusc. 1, 89 and 101. —— **rustici**: cf. Arch. 24 *nostri illi fortes viri sed rustici ac milites;* also above, 24.

76. omnino: see n. on 9. —— **num igitur** etc.: cf. 33 *nisi forte et seq.* —— **constans**: cf. n. on 33. —— **ne ... quidem**: see n. on 27. —— **satietas vitae**: cf. 85 *senectus autem et seq.*, and *satietas vivendi* in pro Marc. 27; also Tusc. 1, 109 *vita acta perficiat ut satis superque vixisse videamur*.

77. cernere: of the mind also in 82. With the context cf. Div. 1, 63 *animus appropinquante morte multo est divinior: facilius evenit appropinquante morte ut animi futura augurentur*. —— **vestros patres**: n. on 15. The elder Laelius was prominent both as general and as statesman. He commanded the fleet which co-operated with Scipio Afri-

canus in Spain and afterwards served with honor in Africa. He was an intimate friend of Cato. See Liv. 26, 42 *et seq.* —— **tuque**: so in Lael. 100 *C. Fanni et tu, Q. Muci;* but above, 4 and 9 simply *Scipio et Laeli.* —— **quae est sola vita**: cf. n. on *vitam nullam* in 7. —— **nam dum sumus** etc.: the whole of this doctrine is Platonic; cf. Lael. 13. —— **munere necessitatis et ... opere**: 'function and task allotted us by fate'.

P. 32. — **immortalis**: Cicero rarely mentions the gods without this epithet. —— **sparsisse**: Horace calls the soul *divinae particulam aurae.* —— **tuerentur**: rule, or guard, or care for. Most editors wrongly take *tuerentur* to be for *intuerentur*, 'to look upon', and regard it as an intentional archaism. But cf. Rep. 6, 15 (where no archaism can be intended): *homines sunt hac lege generati, qui tuerentur illum globum quae terra vocatur;* also *tuentur* below in 82. —— **contemplantes imitarentur**: perhaps more Stoic than Platonic; the Stoics laid great stress on the ethical value of a contemplation and imitation of the order of the universe. Cf. N. D. 2, 37 *ipse homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum et imitandum;* Sen. Dial. 8, 5, 1 *Natura nos ad utrumque genuit, et contemplationi rerum et actioni.* —— **modo**: here *modus* seems to be the Platonic τὸ μέτριον, or perhaps a reminiscence of the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean (n. on 46). Translate 'in moderation and consistency of life'; and cf. Off. 1, 93 *rerum modus* 'moderation in all things'. For *constantia* see n. on 4. —— **ita**: cf. n. on 16 *et tamen sic.*

78. Pythagoran: see n. to 23. No ancient philosopher held more firmly than Pythagoras to belief in the immortality of the soul; it formed a part of his doctrine of Metempsychosis. He was also noted for his numerical speculations in Astronomy and Music. With him is said to have originated the doctrine of the 'harmony of the spheres'. —— **qui essent**: 'inasmuch as they were'. Cicero often tries to make out a connection between Pythagoras and the early Romans; cf. Tusc. 4, 2; also Liv. 1, 18. —— **ex universa mente**: the world-soul. Diog. Laert 8 gives as Pythagorean the doctrine ψυχὴν εἶναι ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ ἀθάνατον. Similar doctrines occur in Plato and the Stoics; cf. Div. 1, 110 *a qua* (*i. e. a natura deorum*) *ut doctissimis sapientissimisque placuit, haustos animos et libatos habemus;* Tusc. 5, 38 *humanus animus decerptus ex mente divina;* Sen. Dial. 12, 6, 7. —— **haberemus**: imperfect where the English requires the present. A. 287, *d*; H. 495, V. —— **Socrates**: in Plato's Phaedo.

—— **immortalitate animorum**: this is commoner than *immortalitas animi*, for 'the immortality of the soul'; so Lael. 14; Tusc. 1, 80 *aeternitas animorum*. —— **disseruisset**: subjunctive because involving the statements of some other person than the speaker. A. 341, *c*; G. 630; H. 528, 1. —— **is qui esset** etc.: 'a man great enough to have been declared wisest'. See n. on Lael. 7 *Apollinis ... iudicatum*. —— **sic**: cf. *ita* above. —— **celeritas animorum**: the ancients pictured to themselves the mind as a substance capable of exceedingly rapid movement; cf. Tusc. 1, 43 *nulla est celeritas quae possit cum animi celeritate contendere*. —— **tantae scientiae**: as the plural of *scientia* is almost unknown in classical Latin, recent editors take *scientiae* here as genitive, 'so many arts requiring so much knowledge'. In favor of this interpretation are such passages as Acad. 2, 146 *artem sine scientia esse non posse*; Fin. 5, 26 *ut omnes artes in aliqua scientia versentur*. Yet in De Or. 1, 61 *physica ista et mathematica et quae paulo ante ceterarum artium propria posuisti, scientiae sunt eorum qui illa profitentur* it is very awkward to take *scientiae* as genitive. —— **cumque semper** etc.: this argument is copied very closely from Plato's Phaedrus, 245 C. —— **principium motus**: ἀρχὴ κινήσεως in Plato. —— **se ipse**: cf. n. on 4 *a se ipsi*. —— **cum simplex** etc.: from Plato's Phaedo, 78–80. The general drift of the argument is this: material things decay because they are compounded of parts that fall asunder; there is nothing to show that the soul is so compounded; therefore no reason to believe that it will so decay. Notice the imperfects *esset ... haberet ... posset* accommodated to the tense of *persuasi* above, although the other subjunctives in the sentence are not; cf. n. on 42 *efficeret*. —— **neque ... dissimile**: in modern phraseology the whole of this clause would be briefly expressed thus, — 'and was homogeneous'. —— **posset**: *quod si* = 'whereas if', the subject of *posset* being *animus*, and *dividi* being understood. —— **magno argumento**: ἱκανὸν τεκμήριον in Pl. Phaed. 72 A. Belief in the immortality of the soul naturally follows the acceptance of the doctrine of pre-existence. —— **homines scire** etc.: See Plato, Phaedo, 72 E–73 B. The notion that the souls of men existed before the bodies with which they are connected has been held in all ages and has often found expression in literature. The English poets have not infrequently alluded to it. See Wordsworth's Ode on the Intimations of Immortality from the Recollections of Early Childhood, 'Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting' etc.; also, in Tennyson's Two Voices the passage beginning, —

'Yet how should I for certain hold,
Because my memory is so cold,
That I first was in human mould'?

reminisci et recordari: a double translation of Plato's *ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι*, quite in Cicero's fashion; the former word implies a momentary act, the latter one of some duration. —— **haec Platonis fere**: 'so far Plato'.

79. apud Xenophontem: Cyropaedia, 8, 7, 17; for *apud* cf. 30; when Cic. says that a passage is 'in' a certain author (not naming the book) he uses *apud*, not *in*. —— **maior**: 'the elder'; cf. 59 *Cyrum minorem*. —— **nolite arbitrari**: a common periphrasis. A. 269, *a*, 2; G. 264, II.; H. 489, I. —— **dum eram**: the imperfect with *dum* is not common; see Roby, 1458, *c*; A. 276, *e*, n.; G. 572, 571; H. 519, I., 467, 4 with n.

P. 33. — 80. nec ... teneremus: the souls of the dead continue to exert an influence on the living, or else their fame would not remain; a weak argument. —— **mihi ... potuit**: cf. 82 *nemo ... persuadebit*. —— **vivere ... emori**: adversative asyndeton. —— **insipientem**: in Xen. *ἄφρων*, *i. e.* without power of thinking. —— **sed**: 'but rather that ...' —— **hominis natura**: a periphrasis for *homo*; cf. Fin. 5, 33 *intellegant, si quando naturam hominis dicam, hominem dicere me; nihil enim hoc differt*. —— **nihil ... somnum**: poets and artists from Homer (Il. 16, 682) onwards have pictured death as sleep's brother. Cf. Lessing, How the Ancients Represented Death.

81. atqui: see n. on 6. —— **dormientium animi** etc.: see Div. 1, 60 where a passage of similar import is translated from Plato's Republic IX; ib. 115. —— **remissi et liberi**: cf. Div. 1, 113 *animus solutus ac vacuus*; De Or. 2, 193 *animo leni ac remisso*. —— **corporis**: the singular, though *animi* precedes; so in Lael. 13; Tusc. 2, 12, etc. —— **pulchritudinem**: *κόσμον*; Cic. translates it by *ornatus* in Acad. 2, 119 where *hic ornatus* corresponds to *hic mundus* a little earlier. —— **tuentur**: see n. on 77 *tuerentur*. —— **servabitis**: future for imperative. A. 269, *f*, G 265, 1; H. 487, 4.

82. Cyrus etc.: see n. on 78. —— **si placet**: cf. n. on 6 *nisi molestum est*. —— **nostra**: = *Romana* = *domestica* in 12. —— **nemo** etc.: this line of argument is often repeated in Cic.; see Tusc. 1, 32 *et seq.*; Arch. 29. —— **duos avos ... patruum**: see nn. on 29. —— **multos**: *sc. alios*. —— **esse conatos**: loosely put for *fuisse conaturos*, as below, *suscepturum fuisse*. So in the direct narration we might have, though

exceptionally, *non conabantur nisi cernerent* for *non conati essent nisi vidissent.* —— **cernerent**: see n. on 13 *quaereretur.* —— **ut ... glorier**: in Arch. 30 Cic. makes the same reflections in almost the same words about his own achievements. —— **aliquid**: see n. on 1 *quid.*

P. 34. — **si isdem** etc.: cf. Arch. 29 *si nihil animus praesentiret ... dimicaret.* —— **aetatem**: = *vitam.* —— **traducere**: cf. Tusc. 3, 25 *volumus hoc quod datum est vitae tranquille placideque traducere.* —— **nescio quo modo**: A. 210, *f*, Rem.; G. 469, Rem. 2; H. 529, 5, 3). —— **erigens se**: Acad. 2, 127 *erigimur, elatiores fieri videmur.* —— **haud ... niteretur**: in Cicero's speeches *haud* scarcely occurs except before adverbs and the verb *scio;* in the philosophical writings and in the Letters before many other verbs. —— **immortalitatis gloriam**: so Balb. 16 *sempiterni nominis gloriam.* Cf. also Arch. 26 *trahimur omnes studio laudis et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur.*

83. non videre: either *non videre* or *non item* was to be expected, as Cicero does not often end sentences or clauses with *non.* —— **colui et dilexi**: so 26 *coluntur et diliguntur.* —— **videndi**: Cic. for the most part avoids the genitive plural of the gerundive in agreement with a noun, and uses the gerund as here. Meissner notes that Latin has no verb with the sense 'to see again', which a modern would use here. —— **conscripsi**: in the *Origines.* —— **quo**: = *ad quos;* see n. on 12 *fore unde.* —— **Pelian**: a mistake of Cicero's. It was not Pelias but his half-brother Aeson, father of Iason, whom Medea made young again by cutting him to pieces and boiling him in her enchanted cauldron. She, however, induced the daughters of Pelias to try the same experiment with their father; the issue, of course, was very different. Plautus, Pseud. 3, 2, 80 seems to make the same mistake. —— **si quis deus**: the present subjunctive is noticeable; strictly, an impossible condition should require the past tense, but in vivid passages an impossible condition is momentarily treated as possible. So Cic. generally says *si reviviscat aliquis,* not *reviviscerat.* —— **decurso spatio**: 'when I have run my race'. See n. on 14. Lucretius 3, 1042 oddly has *decurso lumine vitae.* —— **ad carceres a calce**: *carceres* were the barriers behind which the horses and cars stood waiting for the race; *calx* (γραμμή), literally 'a chalked line', was what we should call 'the winning post'. Cf. Lael. 101; Tusc. 1, 15 *nunc video calcem ad quam cum sit decursum, nihil sit praeterea extimescendum.*

84. habeat: concessive. A. 266, *c*; G. 257; H. 484, 3. —— **multi et ei docti**: as Nägelsbach, Stilistik § 25, 5, remarks, Cic. always

uses this phrase and not *multi docti*. One of the books Cic. has in view is no doubt that of Hegesias, a Cyrenaic philosopher, mentioned in Tusc. 1, 84. —— **commorandi ... divorsorium**: 'a hostelry wherein to sojourn'. The idea has been expressed in literature in a thousand ways. Cf. Lucr. 3, 938 *cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis;* Hor. Sat. 1, 1, 118 *vita cedat uti conviva satur*. Cicero often insists that heaven is the *vera aeternaque domus* of the soul (cf. Tusc. 1, 118). Cf. Epist. to the Hebrews, 13, 14 'Here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come'. —— **concilium coetumque**: so in Rep. 6, 13 *concilia coetusque hominum quae civitates vocantur*. The words here seem to imply that the real *civitas* is above; what seems to men a *civitas* is merely a disorganized crowd.

P. 35. — **Catonem meum**: see 15, 68; so Cicero in his letters often calls his own son *meus Cicero*. —— **nemo vir**: see n. on 21 *quemquam senem*. —— **quod contra**: = ὃ τοὐναντίον, 'whereas on the contrary'; cf. n. on Lael. 90 where, as well as here, many of the editors make the mistake of taking *quod* to be the accusative governed by *contra* out of place. —— **meum**: *sc. corpus cremari*. —— **quo**: put for *ad quae*, as often. —— **visus sum**: 'people thought I bore up bravely'. —— **non quo ... sed**: a relative clause parallel with a categorically affirmative clause. The usage is not uncommon, though Cic. often has *non quo ... sed quia*. For mood of *ferrem* see A. 341, *d*, Rem.; G. 541, Rem. 1.; H. 516, II. 2.

85. **dixisti**: in 4. —— **qui**: here = *cum ego*, 'since I ...'. —— **extorqueri volo**: n. on 2 *levari volo*. —— **minuti philosophi**: for the word *minutus* cf. n. on 46; Cic. has *minuti philosophi* in Acad. 2, 75; Div. 1, 62; in Fin. 1, 61 *minuti et angusti* (*homines*); in Brut. 265 *m. imperatores;* cf. Suet. Aug. 83 *m. pueri*. —— **sentiam**: future indicative. —— **peractio**: the noun is said to occur only here in Cic.; cf. however 64 *peragere;* 70. —— **haec ... dicerem**: the same words occur at the end of the Laelius; for *habeo quod dicam* Cic. often says *habeo dicere*, as in Balb. 34.